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in A 8 ed. 1771

THE  
HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT,

FROM  
THE FIRST SETTLEMENT

TO THE  
PRESENT TIME.

BY  
THEODORE DWIGHT, JR.

NEW-YORK:

HARPER & BROTHERS, 82 CLIFF-STREET.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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**THE** history of Connecticut has strong claims on the attention of the intelligent reader : chiefly for these reasons, that its founders established their institutions on principles essentially great and good, and their descendants have wisely sustained them, so that they have produced their appropriate fruits in sound morals, order, and good government. The leading objects for which they left their native land, and twice undertook the arduous labour of forming new settlements in this then western wilderness, were the extension of the Christian faith and the establishment of religious and civil liberty for themselves and their descendants.

The history of the world affords no example of colonies founded for objects so pure, lofty, and honourable, except in New-England and Pennsylvania. The settlement commenced in Carolina by the French Protestants under Admiral Coligny, in the year 1502, may perhaps be thought of the same noble character : but these colonists were far inferior to the English settlers in knowledge and political wisdom, and their enterprise soon came to an unhappy termination.

Nothing appears more evident at the present day, than that the principles which governed the founders of New-England were sound in them-

selves, and, therefore, calculated to lead to successful results : but here we should bear in mind, that the pilgrims who landed at Plymouth on the 22d of December, 1620, were the first to bring these principles fairly to a practical test, at a time when comparatively few had yet embraced them, while the general practice of mankind was directly opposed to them, and had been so from time immemorial. At the period even when the settlement of Connecticut was commenced, sixteen years after the landing at Plymouth, the experiment of the pilgrims had been but very partially tried, or, rather, only just entered upon ; and this new offset from the parent stem was no more than an extension of the same noble, though, as yet, unproved, plan. North America was at that time one vast, unbroken wilderness, with the exception of a few small spots occupied by feeble, unconnected European colonies. Quebec had been settled by the French in 1608 ; Jamestown, in Virginia, by Captain Smith, with a few English emigrants, in 1609 ; and New-York and Albany, in 1618, by the Dutch, who, in 1621, extended their territorial claim from the Connecticut River to the Delaware, giving to the country within these limits the name of New-Netherlands ; a few Danes had stationed themselves at Bergen, in New-Jersey, about the year 1624 ; and some Swedes and Finns had formed a settlement on the western side of the Delaware near Christiana Creek, in 1626. The objects of these colonists were to obtain wealth by trade, and to extend the territories of their respective sovereigns : but, as Judge Marshall, in his history of the American Colonies, remarks,

"New-England owed her settlement to a higher motive than self-interest."

On contrasting the widely different results of the Spanish and English settlements in America, we might be tempted to regret that the latter were so long delayed : but a moment's reflection will suffice to convince us, that New-England was not colonized too late for the best good of mankind. Half a century previous to that event, few men could have been found in England undegraded by the old system of things ; and the principles which distinguished the pilgrims had been adopted in their purity but a short time before their emigration. The Bible had then been in the hands of the people long enough to be well understood, and its principles had been examined and tested through periods of persecution well calculated to develop their nature, and forcibly to impress them on the minds of those whose lot it was to suffer for conscience' sake. Important political questions, too, had arisen relative to the authority and obligations of rulers and the rights as well as the duties of subjects ; and these had so often been brought to the great test of the Word of God, that its readers had almost necessarily become familiar with the true design and the right theory of government. Hence it was that the planters of New-England, while providing for the perpetuity of their religious institutions, adopted most of those great distinctive principles on which the system of our republic is founded ; though even by them some grave errors, the remains of ancient prejudices, were still retained.

Hence, though Connecticut, both in extent of ter-

ritory and in the number of its inhabitants, is inferior to most of the other states of the American Union, its history is interesting in a degree quite disproportioned to its size and population.

Second to Massachusetts in the time of its settlement, this state has exerted a great and salutary influence in establishing and maintaining the character and institutions of the nation from the earliest period of its history. The people of Connecticut shared largely in the labours and expenses, the dangers and sufferings connected with the wars that were waged on our own soil, and those foreign expeditions in which our forefathers were sometimes involved in aid of the mother-country. They have performed their full part in upholding the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures of the nation, and in directing its councils; and, while multitudes have gone forth to clear and people new states, in extent vastly superior to their own, at home they have sustained with remarkable uniformity their simple and economical system of government, and their truly democratic state of society, and have been found under all circumstances among the most zealous and efficient promoters of learning, sound morals, and religion, of good order, civil liberty, and national independence.

So striking, indeed, has ever been the attachment of the people of Connecticut to knowledge, industry, religion, and the laws, that their state has long been designated throughout the Union by the familiar though expressive title of "The Land of Steady Habits."

The distinctive character of the people of this state, and their social and moral condition, are

doubtless to be ascribed to the principles and institutions of their ancestors; and where effects so strikingly salutary are observed, it is a matter of great interest to examine and understand the causes by which they have been produced. These causes must be sought for in the history of Connecticut, a brief and comprehensive view of which is attempted to be given in the following work. The author has endeavoured to be as full and particular in his account as the limits assigned him would permit; bearing in mind the importance of making his work, both in matter and style, as acceptable as possible to the numerous class of readers for whose gratification and instruction it is especially designed. He feels it incumbent on him to express his obligations to the different writers consulted by him in the preparation of this volume, and to whose productions he in great measure owes that taste for the history of his native state and country which has been to him a source of the highest gratification, and which he would fain assist in extending among his countrymen.

Surely this is a study, aside from its greater usefulness, which should be far more interesting to a well-trained mind than those works of fiction which absorb so great a portion of the time of many readers; and the author is persuaded, not only by observation and reflection, but by his own experience, that it is one from which the young and the old may derive equal advantage and delight. When quite a child, he often listened to the reading of Trumbull's History of Connecticut, with a pleasure not exceeded by that which the perusal of more voluminous works afforded him at a later period in life.

The author has likewise embraced in the following pages the results of inquiries made by him, at different periods, among such records of the past as he has been able to discover in his visits to various parts of the country, and many interesting facts obtained from persons possessing valuable information. Many of the old forts and battle-fields mentioned in this work he has inspected at leisure, taking measurements, notes, and drawings on the spot; while family traditions and ancient manuscripts have often been usefully consulted to supply or explain important facts.



**THE**  
**HISTORY**  
**OF**  
**CONNECTICUT.**

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**CHAPTER I.**

**Character and Objects of the Founders of Connecticut Colony.**  
—The Founding of New-Haven Colony with similar Designs.  
—Difficulties arising from the conflicting Claims of European Sovereigns and of English Patents and Companies.—Claims of the Spaniards, English, Dutch, and French.—Justice of the English Claim.—Brief Geographical View of Connecticut, with its present Boundaries, &c.

**THE** settlement of Connecticut was commenced sixteen years after that of Massachusetts, for the same great purposes, and by men of the same origin and character. Indeed, the original founders of the colony were from Massachusetts, and of the number of those conscientious men who had left England in consequence of religious persecution in the reign of James I. Finding, after a short residence there, that the few settlements about Massachusetts Bay were fast filling up with emigrants, and would soon be overstocked, and wishing to occupy the fertile shores of Connecticut River before they should be seized by the Dutch, who were then in

possession of New-York, they began to prepare for a removal.

Their principal motives were declared to be, to secure freedom of conscience and civil liberty to themselves and their posterity, and to make the savages acquainted with the Christian religion and the blessings of civilized life. Their plan was seriously opposed by their friends in that colony, who loved and esteemed them too much to be willing to lose them; but they had deliberately adopted it, and were resolved to carry it into execution. The first emigration to the banks of the Connecticut took place in 1636, the company being composed chiefly of married men, with their families, and including several religious congregations, with their pastors, church officers, and members.

Two years afterward another colony was founded at New-Haven, for the same exalted objects, by a congregation which had left England to form a distinct settlement by themselves in the forests of America. Our attention will be directed to these two colonies in turn, up to the period of their final union.

Unfortunately, a part of the territory of Connecticut was included in the claim of the Dutch; several conflicting grants were also made at different periods to companies and individuals in England, which occasioned serious difficulties; while disputes of a still graver character frequently arose between Great Britain and France from their rival pretensions in the North, which brought many a fleet and army across the Atlantic, and thus at different times involved the colonies in war for several generations.

The groundwork of these troubles was laid in those early times when this part of America was known only through the first discoverers: the notions into which the world was led by their credulity and ignorance being often so preposterous as to excite a smile. When Columbus first made known to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain his discovery of land in the West, they were disposed to claim all the territories which might be found in that part of the world: the King of Portugal, however, informed them that he considered even the West Indies as justly belonging to his crown, inasmuch as his subjects had first visited the Azores. With a degree of superstition worthy of Southern Europe, the question was at last submitted to the pope, who gravely decided that Portugal should have all the lands and territories that might be discovered within a thousand miles of Europe, and Spain all that should be discovered beyond.

If the potentates of Europe had been at that time as submissive to Rome as they were a few centuries before, the Western world might have passed quietly into the possession of Spain and Portugal; and what would have been now the condition of our country, it is impossible to tell. But neither Great Britain, nor Holland, nor even France, was disposed to consent to this authoritative partition of the newly-discovered regions of the West; and these powers subsequently took possession of different parts of North America, supporting their respective pretensions by long and bloody wars, until the first-named power ultimately triumphed.

The claims advanced by Great Britain were

founded on the discoveries of John Cabot and his son Sebastian, Italian navigators residing in England, who were sent in quest of new countries, with an expedition fitted out by the king, very soon after the discovery of the West Indies by Columbus. John discovered Newfoundland in 1494; and in 1497 Sebastian coasted from the northeastern part of the continent nearly to the Gulf of Mexico.

The French laid claim to Nova Scotia, on the ground of its having been visited and taken possession of in the name of their king, thirty years afterward, by an Italian navigator in his service, Verranzano. The first settlement attempted by them was in 1540, which was unsuccessful.

The Dutch claim to the country about the mouth and along the course of the Hudson River, was founded on the discoveries made by Hendrick or Henry Hudson, who, while in the service of the King of Great Britain, explored these regions in 1609, and afterward sold his right to the States General. The Dutch government long persisted in maintaining this claim, although it is manifest that Hudson's discovery is embraced in that of Cabot, which had been made one hundred and twelve years earlier, and that the title which he pretended to sell was in fact vested in the King of Great Britain.

In regard to Connecticut, the conflicting charters and grants that were from time to time given, affecting different portions of her territory, involved the colony in protracted and serious troubles, and long left her boundaries unsettled. It will be seen in the following pages, that, in consequence of this

state of things, her limits were finally curtailed on every side through the injustice of various claimants, to whom, for the sake of peace, she chose to submit, in a spirit of conciliation deserving no small praise.

A part of these claims, so discordant in themselves and so troublesome to the colony, originated in ignorance; while several of the most vexatious were based on grants made or allowed by different English kings, or by their officers, whose enmity to the colony led them to set justice at defiance.

The title by which the people of Connecticut held the country, was founded on the old patent granted by Robert, earl of Warwick, in 1631, to Lord Say-and-Seal, Lord Brook, Sir Richard Saltonstall, and others, associated under the name of the Plymouth Company.

The "Plymouth Council," as it was called, "for the planting, ruling, and governing of New-England, in America," was incorporated in 1620 by King James I., and from it were derived all the grants under which the country was settled.

In that year, the first pilgrims came over with their pastor, the Rev. Mr. Robinson, and landed at Plymouth, having been driven from England several years before by the severe laws enacted against such as refused to conform to the ritual approved of by James, as the head of the established church. They had resided during this time at Leyden, in Holland: but, wishing to remove to America, they sought to obtain from the king an assurance of religious freedom; of which, indeed, he gave them a verbal promise. Plymouth remained a separate colony for about seventy years.

In 1628, the Plymouth Council granted to a company the land between the Merrimac and Charles Rivers, and three miles north and south of them, extending, with the same breadth, to the "*South Sea*." This grant received the king's seal the following year; and Mr. Endicott came out with three hundred persons to prepare for the arrival of a still larger number. They established themselves at Salem and Charlestown; and, seventeen ships arriving with additional colonists in 1630, nine or ten towns, including Boston, with two thousand inhabitants, were in a short time settled. Many of the emigrants came over by congregations, with their pastors; and among them were the greater part of the first settlers of Connecticut, and not a few of the men afterward most distinguished in the history of that colony.

In 1630, the Plymouth Council made a grant of Connecticut to the Earl of Warwick, their president. This was confirmed by the king (Charles I.) in 1631; and, on the 19th of March in this year, the earl conveyed his title to the Plymouth Company, as before stated.

This is the original patent of Connecticut; and it comprised all the territory from Narraganset River, within forty leagues of the coast, southwest, west by south, or west, "as the coast lieth," towards Virginia; and of that breadth "from the Western Ocean to the South Sea." This, as President Clapp afterward stated, extended from Point Judith to New-York, and inland to Worcester, Massachusetts, if we take the Narraganset River from its source.

Connecticut, with its present limits, is of an ir-

regular oblong form, having straight lines for its northern and the greater part of its eastern and western boundaries. Bordering on Long Island Sound to the south, the line of the state there follows the irregularities of the coast; and, running southward of west in its general course, the western boundary on New-York is considerably longer than the eastern on Rhode Island. The state lies between  $41^{\circ}$  and  $42^{\circ} 10'$  north latitude, and  $3^{\circ} 20'$  and  $5^{\circ} 10'$  longitude east from Washington. It is about 90 miles in length, and 70 in breadth, comprising 4764 square miles. Next to Rhode Island, Delaware, and New-Jersey, Connecticut is the smallest state in the Union.

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## CHAPTER II.

**Original Condition of the Country, and the Change in its Appearance, &c., which has been produced by Cultivation and the Arts of Civilized Life.—The Indian Nations or Tribes which inhabited the Connecticut and the neighbouring Regions.—The Connecticut or River Indians.—The Pequods and Mohegans.—The Five Nations of New-York, then called Mohawks in New-England.—The Narragansets of Rhode Island.—Wild Animals.**

How different from its present appearance must have been the aspect of Connecticut (as of our country generally) when its settlement by Europeans was commenced; and how difficult it is to form a correct idea of its condition at that period, and to realize the wonderful change that has taken

place in two centuries ! Instead of those marks of the meliorating hand of civilized man which we now everywhere behold, a dense primeval forest then overspread the entire surface, with the exception of the fine meadows which here and there border the streams, that were reserved by the Indians for planting, and a few other spots which they kept clear of wood for their hunting-grounds. These places were not only destitute of trees, but the grass was burned every autumn after it had become dry, that a fresh green crop might tempt the deer and elk to feed there early in the spring. Small collections of wigwams were here and there to be seen, the occupants of which were accustomed to remove twice a year : in the winter to the sunny sides of the hills, and, during the dry season, to the shores of the Sound, the banks of streams, or the margins of swamps. Others, again, more permanently settled, clustered their rude dwellings about a few commanding eminences, or spots fortified by nature, to enjoy the protection of their chief, and the defence that such a position afforded to them.

Wild animals of different species, now nearly or quite unknown in the state, were then numerous in its forests. Birds of various kinds abounded in the woods, and vast numbers of water-fowl frequented the streams, the picturesque little lakes in the interior of the country, and the bays and inlets along the coast. These last especially became the favourite haunts of the Indian tribes, from the abundance of food afforded by the different sorts of game and fish, and more particularly clams, which were taken in vast quantities and dried, to season their "succo-



tash" (Indian corn and beans) in winter. Some of the trees then forming the chief ornament of the forest, have now become comparatively scarce, from having been extensively used in the construction of houses, ships, various kinds of implements, &c., or destroyed in clearing the land and by the browsing of cattle; while other varieties foreign to the soil have been introduced by that new race of men, before whose superior policy and rapidly-increasing numbers, the original inhabitants have still more completely disappeared. The Indians, as has been before remarked, were in the habit of burning over their open hunting-grounds: but Dr. Dwight is of the opinion that in New-England this practice was less common than in some other parts of the country, where there exist vast tracts wholly destitute of trees, owing, no doubt, to this cause. He thinks, also, that the white men adopted to some extent the Indian custom of burning, after they came into possession of the country. Oak and pine he states to have been the most common trees in the southern parts of New-England, except in mountainous and marshy regions. Many of the plants and grains now most frequently met with in our fields have been introduced from Europe either by accident or design, and are annually extending themselves farther westward by the aid of man, or by means of seed conveyed by the winds and by birds.

Some parts of the coast and rivers of Connecticut were occasionally visited by small parties of white men for fishing and trade, several years before the settlements were actually commenced. From the first accounts we have of the country,

we learn that it was occupied by inconsiderable bodies of Indians, scattered here and there over the surface, most of which were connected more or less closely with some tribe or petty nation that was independent of every other. Of the aborigines inhabiting the western part of the state, but little is known; owing, probably, to their unsettled condition, from being exposed to the inroads of the Mohawks. Those inhabiting the banks of the Connecticut, comprehended by the English under the general name of the River Indians, had their principal seats and strongholds in Windsor, East Windsor, and Middletown. The Sachem of Wallingford was the sovereign of a large tract of country, extending to the Sound, and including New-Haven. The eastern part of the state was divided between two more powerful tribes: the Pequods, whose principal towns and forts were at Groton and Stonington, and the Mohegans, who, from their chief seat at Norwich, extended their dominion beyond the present northeastern boundary of the state into Massachusetts.

Of all these, the Pequods were the most warlike, proud, and formidable. The traditions of other tribes, as well as their own, declared that they had fought their way from some unknown part of the interior, had made choice of the region which they occupied, bordering on the Sound, and lying between the Eastern and the Western Nehantics, whom they compelled to submit, and had there maintained their ground, in defiance of their neighbours. The Mohegans were a revolted portion of this tribe, who appear to have held their independence by a precarious tenure at the time the white men arrived

in their neighbourhood ; and were, perhaps, saved from subjection, if not destruction, by a well-timed and faithfully-observed alliance with the powerful strangers.

The Pequods doubtless belonged to that extensive family of the red race which overspread New-England and other northern parts of the Union, and a portion of Upper Canada, including the Delawares, Chippewas, or Ojibwas, &c., since they resembled them all in person, habits, and customs, and, what is a still more important mark of identity, in language. The extensive districts occupied by that wide-spread family were encroached upon, in the present State of New-York, by a formidable nation, or, rather, confederacy of tribes, differing from them in origin, manners, and dialect.

These were the Iroquois or Five Nations, who afterward acted a conspicuous part in the history of the country. They originally, if we may credit tradition, came from Canada ; and, before the arrival of the Europeans, had extended their warlike incursions into New-England. No doubt, during these hostile invasions, the most shocking barbarities were practised : for the first intercourse which took place between the River Indians and the Pilgrims of Plymouth was at the instance of the former, to secure protection against the ravages of the Mohawks. This appellation was for a long time applied in New-England to the Indians of the Five Nations generally, from its being the name of the particular tribe in that confederacy nearest her western borders. These terrible enemies had driven many of the Connecticut Indians from their native seats ; and others they had reduced to such

a state of depression and alarm, that, to obtain some degree of security, they consented to pay a heavy tribute; notwithstanding which, they were treated with the greatest rigour on giving the slightest cause of offence. The River Indians would flee in the utmost terror to their little fortresses on the first rumour of the approach of the Mohawks; and tradition reports, that it was customary with the squaws to frighten their fretful children into stillness by telling them that these dreadful people were coming. Wood thus described them in 1634, in his quaint, amusing style:\*

“These are a cruell and bloody people, which are wont to come downe upon their neighbours with

\* The following traditionary tale, which is of an early date, probably records one of the latest instances of Mohawk murders on the banks of the Connecticut. The scene was a spot about a mile below the city of Middletown, on the ascent of Fort Hill, and not far from the river. The cellar of the old house still remains.

On a certain day, during the warm season of the year, the Indians were assembled in the fort for safety, in consequence of an alarm of the Mohawks. The English had no fear for themselves, as they probably had done nothing to offend these terrible invaders, who may have also held their power in respect. The colonist who occupied the house above referred to had gone out, leaving only his wife and infant at home. The woman, having placed her child in the cradle, was sitting at her spinning-wheel while it slept; when suddenly a young squaw rushed into the room in the greatest terror, and, with a few expressive signs, begging that she would not betray her, crept under the bed. A moment after, a tall Indian, in his full war-dress, entered the door, and, brandishing his tomahawk, threatened the mistress of the house with instant vengeance if she should attempt to conceal his fugitive. The strange dress of the warrior convinced her that he was a Mohawk; and, fearing for her child more than for herself, she silently, though reluctantly, pointed towards the bed. In a moment he seized his victim by her long black hair; and, dragging her out of the door, in spite of her screams and struggles, laid her dead with a single blow of his tomahawk.

more than savage brutishness, spoiling of their corn, burning their houses, slaying men, yea, very cannibals; they were sometimes eating on a man one part after another before his face, and while yet living; insomuch that the very name of Mow-hack would strike the heart of a poor Aberganian dead, were there not hopes at hand of reliefe from the English to succour them: for these inhumane homicides confesse that they dare not meddle with a white-faced man, accompanied with his hot-mouthed weapon." "These Indians," he adds, "be more desperate in their warres than the other Indians, which proceeds not onely from the fierceness of their natures, but also in that they know themselves to be better armed and weaponed; all of them wearing sea-horse skins and bark of trees, made by their art as impenetrable, it is thought, as steele, wearing headpieces of the same, under which they march securely, and undauntedly running, and fiercely crying out, 'Hadree, hadree, succomee, succomee,' 'We come, we come to suck your blood,' not fearing the feathered shafts of the strong-armed bowmen, but, like unruly, headstrong stallions, beat them down with their right-hand tamahaukes and left-hand javelins, which are all the weapons which they use, counting bowes a cowardly fight."

The Pequods were in alliance with the Five Nations; and thus the more peaceable and inoffensive tribes, inhabiting the gentle declivities and verdant meadows along the Connecticut, were cruelly distressed by implacable enemies both on the east and on the west, who seemed to have combined for their destruction.

The territory of the present state of Rhode Isl. and was occupied by another large and powerful tribe, that for a long time made a conspicuous figure in the history of New-England, and whose relations with Connecticut were generally of the most unfriendly character. These were the Narragansets, whose sachem, Massasoit, had extended the hand of peace and friendship to the pilgrims a few days after their arrival at Plymouth, but whose son Philip afterward involved the colonies in the most dangerous war in which they were ever engaged.

It will be seen, in the succeeding pages, that the colonists of Connecticut regarded the ignorant savages among whom they were placed with feelings of humanity, and as became those professing to be governed by the mild and merciful spirit of Christianity, treating them with exemplary justice and kindness in most instances, though, through the blindness of prejudice and habit, they unhappily introduced among them the use of ardent spirits, which were then and long afterward erroneously considered necessary to health. On two occasions, indeed, of extreme danger, they adopted severe and sanguinary measures towards tribes which threatened them with extermination; and which, we regret to say, were of a character, when we view them without passion or prejudice, to call forth the strongest reprobation. Many efforts were made to christianize the Indians, though without any considerable success.

Of all the different tribes that once occupied Connecticut, the undisputed lords of the soil, scarcely a remnant now remains. Many fell in

the wars waged among themselves and with the whites, on which it will be our unpleasant task to dwell at length in this volume; a still greater number probably became victims to the intemperance which their European visitors had introduced, commended and encouraged by their own infatuated example; and not a few withdrew to distant tribes in the interior, with which they united themselves, that they might enjoy their native independence beyond the reach of civilization. In 1773 there were found to be 1363 Indians in the colony, "many of them in English families, in good order, peace, and inclined to idleness."

A few poor families and single individuals still reside on the land reserved for the remnant of the Pequods in Groton and that vicinity, for the Nehantics in Lime, and the Mohegans in Norwich: but they are chiefly of mixed blood, and most of them have lost nearly every trace of the aspect and customs of their ancestors.

Most of the wild animals which once afforded to the Indians active employment in the chase, and furnished them with some of their principal articles of food and clothing, have long since been destroyed; while the few that still exist are confined to some of the most thinly inhabited and inaccessible districts. A solitary bear or catamount, and a few wolves, have now and then been seen within the last few years in the hilly regions of the north-western towns. As late as the year 1815, a wolf was killed in the southwestern part of Saybrook, though, before this, scarcely any had been seen in that region since 1770. Two bears were killed in Haddam in 1754 and 1767; and one in Bethany

in 1796. Deer were not uncommon in Middlesex county up to 1765, when, in a time of deep snow, they appear to have been exterminated. The last moose seen in that part of the state is believed to have been one killed in 1770, in the southwestern part of Saybrook. Wild turkeys were numerous in the same neighbourhood till 1780; and continued to be seen, though more rarely, as late as 1790. A panther was shot in Windsor in 1767.

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### CHAPTER III. 1631—1636.

**First Explorers of Connecticut River.**—The Plymouth People invited to settle on its Banks.—Windsor Trading-house.—The Dutch Fort and Trading-house built at Hartford.—Reasons for settling the country on Connecticut River proposed to Massachusetts.—Objections made to the Project.—Those objections honourable to the character of the Colonists.—Five men spend the winter of 1635–6 at Pyquag, or Wethersfield.—Three companies of Colonists form Settlements in 1636 at Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, first called Newtown, Dorchester, and Watertown.—Lord Say-and-Seal and his associates send men to build Saybrook Fort.

It is uncertain whether Connecticut was first visited by the English or the Dutch. Both claimed to be the first explorers. The river and its fertile borders attracted the earliest attention. In 1631, one of the sachems living on that stream visited Plymouth and Boston, and earnestly solicited the governors of those settlements to send a colony to occupy the country. He stated that the land was exceedingly fruitful, and he promised to give them



eighty beaver-skins a year, and plenty of corn. The proposal, however, was not agreed to ; and it was afterward ascertained, that the object of the Indians in making it was to secure the protection of the English against the Pequods, who, under Pequoath, their chief sachem, were at this time making war upon them.

The next year a small party went from Plymouth to Connecticut River, and selected a convenient spot for a trading-house in the present town of Windsor, near the mouth of Farmington River and Governor Winslow and Mr. Bradford, of the Plymouth colony, proposed to Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts, and his council, that they should join them in establishing such a house there, to secure the country against the designs of the Dutch, who were reported to be about carrying into execution a similar project. Governor Winthrop, however, declined participating in the plan ; assigning as his reasons that such a colony would in all probability be destroyed by the Indians, since only small vessels could cross the bar at the mouth of the river, and, during seven months of the year, the ice and the rapidity of the current would prevent all navigation. The Plymouth people then determined to proceed in the enterprise alone ; and Governor Winthrop forthwith communicated to the Dutch governor information of the commission which the English had to trade in New-England. He shortly afterward received a very courteous reply, requesting him to take no measures until the question should be definitively settled between Holland and England.

In 1633, Connecticut River was visited by sev-

eral vessels from Plymouth, and by a party of four men, led by John Oldham, of Dorchester, who crossed the country on foot. They were received with the greatest kindness by the sachem, and bought of him a quantity of the wild hemp which grew there, which was found to be better than that used by the English. In the mean time, the frame and other parts of a trading-house were prepared at Plymouth, which were shipped and brought into the river by William Holmes, with a chosen party of men, several Connecticut sachems being also on board the vessel. On reaching what is now called Hartford, they found that the Dutch had erected a small fort, mounting two guns, at the mouth of Little River, and Holmes was ordered by them not to proceed. He paid no attention, however, to this prohibition, but sailed fearlessly by; and, reaching Windsor, put up the trading-house, and surrounded it with a palisade. The ground had been previously purchased of the sachems by the Plymouth people.

The Dutch had likewise bought twenty acres at Hartford, not of the River Indians, who were regarded by the English as the rightful owners, but of a chief of their enemies the Pequods, named Nepuquash. Jacob Van Curter protested against the proceedings of Holmes, and some time after made an attempt to drive the English away, in obedience to the orders of the Dutch governor, Walter Van Twiller, who sent a military force for that purpose. The trading-house at Windsor was invested by seventy Dutch soldiers, who, however, committed no violence, but peaceably retired when they found that it could not be taken without bloodshed. If the soldiers were withdrawn in

consequence of orders from the Dutch governor, he deserves no little praise for his humanity.

The Rev. Thomas Hooker, a celebrated Puritan preacher in Chelmsford, England, had been silenced in 1630, and fled to Holland to avoid the fines and imprisonment with which he was threatened. Forty-seven conforming ministers near Chelmsford signed a petition in his favour to the Bishop of London, but without effect, notwithstanding that they declared him "to be for doctrine orthodox, for life and conversation honest, for disposition peaceable, and no wise turbulent or factious." The Earl of Warwick, president of the Plymouth Company, had often attended his preaching. In 1632, a large number of the people of Mr. Hooker emigrated to Massachusetts, hoping to induce him to follow them. They settled at Newtown (now Cambridge); and, having sent him an invitation to join them, in the following year he sailed from Holland in the ship Griffin, and landed at Boston on the 4th of September. He was accompanied by Mr. Samuel Stone, a lecturer at Torchester, in Northamptonshire, as his assistant; and in the same vessel came out the celebrated John Cotton, also John Haynes, Mr. Goffe, and two hundred others. He was elected by the people of Newtown to be again their pastor, with Mr. Stone for his assistant; and the first churches in Connecticut were, in the same manner, generally supplied with two ministers. The church at Newtown was organized on the 11th of October.

The first plan formed for the settlement of Connecticut was proposed to the General Court of Massachusetts in the year 1634. A number of

the inhabitants of Newtown or Cambridge, of which the Rev. Mr. Hooker and his congregation were the principal, finding that the persecutions of the Puritans in England were driving more people to Massachusetts than could be well accommodated with land, or comfortably provided for in the then existing state of the country, were disposed to remove to some region more remote from the sea-coast. Having heard from persons who had visited Connecticut River, of the size of that stream, the beauty of its banks, and the fertility of its meadows, they applied to the General Court for permission to remove to that attractive region.

To this request a strenuous opposition was made by many of their friends and towns-people, who represented it to be their duty to remain, as being a part of the one body constituting the colony, and for the good of the commonwealth, which they had promised with an oath to do all in their power to promote; adding that their departure would weaken the colony in the sight of its enemies, and tend to discourage many from leaving England to join them, whose arrival they desired and expected. Mr. Hooker had conceived so favourable an opinion of the plan, that he employed all his eloquence to remove the objections against it; and, when the question was debated in the General Court in September, as it was with much warmth, he attended, and urged at length the various considerations which influenced his mind in favour of the project.

He insisted that the people had not land enough to feed their cattle, and were quite unable to offer accommodations to new colonists; that the planting of so many towns near each other was inju-

dition; that the land on the Connecticut was exceedingly fertile, and would be amply sufficient for their wants; that the Dutch at Manahadoes (now New-York) claimed much of the territory on this river that belonged to the English, and were preparing to occupy it, so that it was highly important to anticipate them in its possession; and that the proposed new settlements could be made without any difficulty, as many of the people had a strong desire to remove to that part of the country.

Notwithstanding this forcible and interesting appeal, so warm was the regard entertained for the excellent pastor and his devoted people, and so great the desire to retain them in the colony, that the opinion of the court was divided. The governor, two assistants, and a majority of the representatives consented to the proposal, while the deputy-governor and six assistants, with the remainder of the representatives, voted against it. The discussion produced a high degree of excitement, to allay which, according to a custom before and afterward prevalent among the Puritans, it was agreed to consider the matter in a solemn, religious manner; and the court requested the Rev. Mr. Cotton to preach a sermon on the subject before them. So great, however, was the unwillingness still manifested to adopt the plan, that all farther proceedings were for a time postponed, notwithstanding it had been intended to commence the new settlement that same season.

A few of the more zealous and active individuals enlisted in the enterprise had, however, gone so far in making preparations as to be unwilling to wait until the following year; and five of them

set out from Watertown, and proceeded to Pyquag, a place on Connecticut River about four miles below Hartford, where they erected huts and spent the winter. This spot is on the margin of the beautiful cove, which presents the picturesque opening seen by the traveller in ascending the stream, in the upper part of the present town of Wethersfield; and is remarkable as being, it is believed, the second locality within the limits of Connecticut occupied by the white men. It is to be wished that we could determine the precise spot where those adventurous and hardy men erected their temporary dwelling. Those who came to Pyquag the following year are said to have built their houses on the southern point of the cove; and hence it is probable that this was the site chosen by their predecessors, it being a narrow ridge accessible to the water, and easily defensible against the Indians. The cove has been formed since that period, where the river then made a sudden bend.

In the month of May, 1636, the General Court of Massachusetts again assembled; and as time had been given the members to consider maturely the question of the proposed new settlements, the arguments urged in their favour could not fail to have their proper weight on minds previously disposed to decide correctly; and the result was, the petition of Mr. Hooker and his friends, on being renewed, was favourably received and granted. A resolution was passed, allowing them to remove to any place they might choose, with no other condition than that they should remain under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

The history of these proceedings is highly char-

acteristic of the feelings, intentions, and practices of the founders of New-England. Having left their native country (to which none were ever more ardently attached) to avoid a common danger, and come to a savage region for objects no less honourable to themselves than interesting to mankind, they not only established a form of government on republican principles, but cheerfully and conscientiously submitted to its authority, even when opposed to their wishes, and without compulsory power to enforce obedience—regarding it as being ordained of God. In this manner, and at that early period in the history of constitutional democracy, did its disinterested founders display the sincerity of their attachment to its noble principles, which can be properly appreciated and developed only by men worthy of the honour of maintaining, and the happiness of enjoying them. They belonged to that inconsiderable number of intelligent and virtuous men, who had originated and defended in their native land the doctrine of the supremacy of the people's rights, at a time when the opposite doctrine of the divine right of kings was almost universally received. They maintained that the only proper object of government is the happiness of the people; and that none can be legitimate which is not administered on this principle. To a government thus conducted, they considered themselves bound, by the command of God, to render all due honour and obedience; and they were now placed in a situation to test the integrity of their character. The intelligent reader should bear in mind their position, observe how far their practice corresponded

with their professions, and whether they honourably sustained themselves in the trial.

The consent of the General Court was no sooner given, than active preparations for removal were commenced, not only in Newtown by Mr. Hooker and his people, but by some of the congregation of the Rev. Mr. Warham in Dorchester, and by a number of persons in Watertown. It was determined that a few should go first, to make arrangements for the accommodation of the rest, who, after sufficient time for this object had been allowed, should follow with their families, cattle, furniture, implements, and provisions. Some of Mr. Warham's people were soon on their way, and several small parties set out from Watertown.

A plan for the immediate settlement of Connecticut had also been formed in England. A company, composed of distinguished and wealthy individuals, had been organized in London by Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, Sir Richard Saltonstall, and others, who obtained a charter from the king, granting them a tract of land about the lower part of Connecticut River, which they determined to occupy without delay. Sir Richard Saltonstall, to whom the direction of the business was committed by the company, sent out twenty men to Boston, accompanied by David Gardiner, an expert engineer. Mr. John Winthrop came over in the same vessel as the agent of the company, and brought with him several cannon, and two thousand pounds in money, with instructions to increase his party to the number of fifty, and to proceed to the mouth of Connecticut River, and there erect a fort, with such buildings as might be necessary for immediate



use; and afterward to construct, within the fort, comfortable dwellings for several English gentlemen, who had determined to establish themselves at that place. All the settlers were required to live near each other for mutual protection; and a tract of land of from a thousand to fifteen hundred acres was directed to be bought for the supply of the fort, and as contiguous to it as possible.

This Mr. Winthrop, who afterward became one of the most influential and valuable men of Connecticut Colony, was the son of Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts, and was alike distinguished by education, scientific acquirements, public spirit, and Christian character. Soon after his arrival at Boston, he learned that the Dutch at Manahadoes were preparing to occupy the mouth of the Connecticut; and, with a desire to anticipate them, he hastened, as fast as possible, his preparations. As soon as he had enlisted twenty men in his enterprise, he sent them round in a small vessel. This party was so expeditious that it had already begun to build a fort, and had two guns mounted before the Dutch made their appearance. The latter showed at first some signs of hostility: but after a short time they went quietly away, without attempting an attack, though they had been sent from Manahadoes with express orders to occupy the place. Governor Winthrop now made all possible despatch in completing his preparations, in which he was greatly assisted by Mr. Gardiner, who had been appointed lieutenant of the fort.

## CHAPTER IV. 1636-7.

**The Colonists hesitate about removing to Connecticut.—They at length Depart.—Difficulties experienced by them on the way.—Settlements made by them at Springfield, Hartford, and Wethersfield.—Early Winter.—Scarcity of Provisions.—Loss of Vessels.—Some of the Settlers return.—Courts formed in the Spring.—Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, with their Congregation, travel on foot to Hartford.—Labours of the Colonists, and the Dangers to which they were exposed.—Apprehensions from the Indians.—The Pequods hostile.**

**THE** colonists, who were preparing to leave Massachusetts for Connecticut when Mr. Winthrop arrived at Boston, were for a while in doubt whether they ought to proceed, as the territory they had intended to occupy was embraced in the grant to the London Company. They finally, however, determined to go, after making an agreement that the company should indemnify them in case they should be obliged to leave the lands they might occupy, or provide them another place of settlement. With this understanding they commenced their journey: but great were the difficulties they encountered. Crowded with an industrious, wealthy, and thriving population, the country now presents to our eyes, on every side, marks of civilization and improvement. We behold a surface intersected by innumerable roads, occupied by comfortable dwellings, seldom so remote as to appear solitary, and towns and villages occurring at short distances in every direction. But the

routes now so carefully kept in repair, and where the traveller is seen passing along with so much ease and rapidity, were then overgrown with an unbroken wilderness; and the streams, now crossed by so many dams and bridges, could at that time be passed only by fording.

Although the emigrants had been previously apprized of these difficulties, they took with them their wives and children, their horses and cattle, and such provisions as they supposed would be necessary on the way, having provided for the transportation of their principal supplies and their household furniture by water. The journey, which is now performed with ease in ten hours, occupied this company several weeks: for the passage of the streams, and the crossing of hills and swamps occasioned frequent and serious delays, encumbered as they were in different ways.

On approaching their respective destinations, the party divided. The families from Dorchester stopped at Windsor; those from Newtown occupied Hartford, and those from Watertown, Wethersfield; giving to these several places the names of the towns which they had left in Massachusetts. The new settlements retained those names for several years, when they took those by which they are now known.

Unfortunately, the winter came on much earlier that year than usual. On the 15th of November the snow had fallen to a great depth, and the river being frozen over, a considerable number of the cattle driven from Boston could not be got across. But, worst of all, the vessels in which their provisions and furniture had been sent did not arrive:

some of these had been wrecked,\* and others did not enter the river until the ice made it impossible for them to reach the new settlements. Houses suitable to protect them against the inclemency of the weather, and proper shelters for their cattle could not be built, on account of the lateness of the season; and they soon began to suffer both from scarcity of provisions and from cold. Under these circumstances, some of them set off to return to Massachusetts. A party of thirteen lost one of their number through the ice in crossing a stream; and the sufferings of the rest were so great, that they would probably have all perished but for the kindness of the Indians whom they met on the way. They were ten days in crossing the wilderness. Another company of seventy proceeded down the river, with the hope of finding some of the expected vessels. In this they were disappointed, until, arriving within about twenty miles of Saybrook, they met with the Rebecca, a vessel of about sixty tons, which had been fast enclosed in the ice, but, a thaw coming on, she was enabled to return to the open water. In attempting, however, to pass into the Sound, the vessel unfortunately grounded on the bar at the mouth of the river, and could not be got off without being unloaded. The cargo was again put on board, and, after a voyage of five days, they arrived safely at Boston.

The departure of so great a number of the set-

\* A vessel, with six men, which left Boston early in November for Connecticut, was cast away about the middle of that month in Manamet Bay, near Plymouth. The crew wandered ten days in the snow. Two other vessels, which were shallops or large boats, were driven ashore on Brown's Island, near Gurnet's Nose, off Plymouth, and totally lost, with all on board.

tlers afforded a temporary relief to those who remained: but such was the scarcity of provisions, that they were compelled to eat malt and grains, and even acorns. They could procure but little game, either by hunting themselves or from the Indians, owing, probably, to the severity of the season. Many of the cattle died, especially at Windsor, where the families from Dorchester had settled, and whose loss from this alone amounted to two hundred pounds. It is not a little remarkable, however, that many of the cattle which had been left on the other side of the river were found alive in the spring, having obtained food in the forest, and escaped being destroyed by wild beasts.

But, great as were their disappointments and sufferings, the colonists were not disheartened. Relying on God, to whose service they had devoted themselves, they struggled against every difficulty, and nobly persevered in their undertaking. Those, therefore, who now enjoy the benefits of their labours and privations, should always hold in grateful remembrance the providence of the Almighty, which enabled their forefathers, in the midst of so many dangers and difficulties, to lay the foundations of a noble state and its invaluable institutions. How different was their situation from ours—in the midst of a wilderness inhabited only by savages; without proper shelter, destitute of food, and separated by a wide waste from the friends they had left behind. Cheerless and desolate indeed must have been this first winter passed by the pilgrims on the banks of the Connecticut.

The arrival of spring at length relieved them from most of their trials; and one of their first

acts was to hold a court. According to the system of government which they had adopted, this court consisted of two of the principal men from each town. They had also determined that, on extraordinary occasions, these should be joined by a committee of three, increasing the number of representatives to five from each town. The court, as constituted in the first instance, was authorized to transact all ordinary business; but to conclude treaties with the Indians, to declare war, or to make peace, they were required to summon the attendance of the committees. The first court assembled at Hartford on the 26th of April, 1636, and consisted of Roger Ludlow, Esq. (who had been a magistrate in Massachusetts in 1630, and had been chosen lieutenant-governor of that colony in 1631), Mr. John Steele, Mr. William Swain, Mr. William Phelps, Mr. William Westwood, and Mr. Andrew Ward.

It appears from the Records of Connecticut, that this court passed a variety of laws for the safety and extension of the settlements, one of which prohibited the sale of arms and ammunition to the Indians.

As soon as the season would permit, the men who had gone in the vessel from Saybrook to Boston set out to return. A short time after, as soon as the grass began to appear, and the cattle could browse in the forests, and the Connecticut had become navigable, several large companies set out from Massachusetts to join their friends in the new settlements.

Among these, a party which left Cambridge to settle at Newtown (Hartford) was of a character

especially deserving notice. It consisted of an entire congregation, accompanied by their pastor, the Rev. Thomas Hooker, and his assistant, the Rev. Samuel Stone. Many of them belonged to highly respectable and wealthy families in England, having left their friends and estates at home, that they might enjoy unmolested the rights of conscience in America. This party numbered about one hundred persons, men, women, and children. Many of them were loaded with packs, besides carrying their arms, ammunition, utensils, &c. ; and they took with them about one hundred and twenty head of cattle. Having decided on removing to Connecticut, they had disposed of their property in Cambridge to a number of English families which had arrived the year before, belonging to the congregation of the Rev. Thomas Shepherd, a man distinguished for his zeal and ability.

Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone set out with their people without any guide. This appears somewhat singular, as, no doubt, Indians acquainted with the country might have been found. They probably concluded, however, that the savages would be but poorly qualified to choose the best route for so large a party of white men, accompanied by their cattle ; the Indians being content with paths which admit of their passage in single file. Mrs. Hooker was carried in a litter. Nearly a fortnight was spent in the journey, at the end of which they safely reached their destination.

Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone were both ordained on the 11th of October, 1633, and continued associated in the pastoral care of the first church in Hartford from 1636 to July, 1647, when Mr. Hook.

er died. Mr. Stone died on the 20th July, 1663. He was succeeded by Joseph Haynes, who died in 1679; after which Samuel Whiting, Mr. Foster, and Timothy Woodbridge were successively the pastors of this church from 1685 to 1732.

The party which emigrated from Dorchester to Windsor left their pastor, Mr. Maverick, behind, he being disinclined to the removal, though he afterward determined to follow his people. He died, however, on the 3d of March, and was succeeded by Mr. Warham. Some of the principal men from that town were Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Henry Wolcott, Mr. William Phelps, and Captain John Mason.

Those who went to Wethersfield also left behind them their pastor, Mr. Phillips; and his place was supplied by Mr. Henry Smith, lately arrived from England.

The people of Plymouth Colony now began to complain, that the territory on the Connecticut, which they considered as belonging to them, and which, through their exertions, had been prevented from falling into the hands of the Dutch, had been occupied by their friends of Massachusetts. Mr. Winslow accordingly went to Boston to claim some remuneration, and demanded a sixteenth part of the lands, and one hundred pounds in money. In this, however, he was unsuccessful; though he afterward received fifty pounds, forty acres of meadow-land, and some upland from the people of Windsor, being what they considered a reasonable compensation.

The infant settlements were exposed to continual dangers from the Indians, who were accustomed



frequently to change their abodes, as their convenience required, in procuring game, planting, fishing, &c. Although they were for the most part peaceable and friendly, being ignorant pagans and easily excited, they were not to be trusted, and might be induced at any time to attack the feeble settlements of the white people, which were not in a condition to defend themselves with much prospect of success, should they be suddenly and unexpectedly assailed. It was therefore necessary that the colonists should be constantly on their guard. On the 7th of June in this year, another court was held at Dorchester (Windsor), and a law was passed requiring each town to maintain a vigilant watch, to provide themselves with arms and ammunition, and to have their men organized and constantly ready for defence.

The third court was held at Watertown (Wethersfield) on the 1st of September following, when the able-bodied male inhabitants throughout the settlements were ordered to be trained every month, and those who were not skilled in the use of arms, still more frequently.

The settlement of Springfield was begun this year by a company from Roxbury, led by Mr. Pyncheon, and was united in government with the other towns. During the first three years, the people generally had no immediate hand in the management of public affairs.

It may be readily supposed that the colonists took special care to prevent a repetition of the calamities to which they had been exposed during the preceding winter. To effect this, they were obliged to labour incessantly in the erection of

houses for themselves and barns for their cattle, in clearing and planting their lands, and in gathering in their crops. Their dwellings were required to be so constructed as to be capable of defence ; and the solidity with which they were built is shown by the great length of time which many of them lasted. That the inhabitants of the different towns might have a more ready communication with one another in times of danger, they early began to construct roads, which was a most laborious undertaking at that period. Trees were to be cut down, and obstacles of various kinds removed. For the multiplied labours imposed on them the colonists were but poorly prepared. Many of them were not accustomed to hard work ; the climate and soil were new to them ; and it was only by experience, and after repeated disappointments and losses, that they were enabled to acquire a knowledge of the plants best adapted to the country, and the proper management of their crops and cattle.

But probably the severest trials they had to endure were their constant watchings, and the state of alarm in which they were kept through fear of the Indians. It is said that several watch stations were erected in the main street in Hartford, from which signals could be made to the most distant parts of the town ; and that a similar communication was afterward kept up between the Wyllis mansion and the house of the Rev. Mr. Hooker.

Early in this year, the construction of the buildings and fortifications at Saybrook was resumed with great activity, as Mr. Winthrop had grounds for apprehension from both the Dutch and the Pe-

quods. Twenty men were employed there during the whole season; and, before the approach of winter, the fort was completed, several houses were built, and a quantity of land was brought into a state fit for cultivation. Some cattle had also been sent on from Boston.

The whole number of white people at that time on Connecticut River was probably about 800, or from 160 to 170 families.

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## CHAPTER V.

**Hostile Movements of the Pequods.—They attack Wethersfield. —They kill Captain Stone on Connecticut River, and Captain Oldham at Block Island.—They beset Saybrook Fort.—Others killed by them.**

WE now approach a period in the history of Connecticut, in which its little colonies were threatened with most imminent danger. The Pequods had become very bold and active, and their movements seemed plainly to indicate that they had formed a resolution to destroy the settlers. A glance at the map will enable the reader to perceive how critical was their situation. Windsor, Hartford, Wethersfield, Middletown, and Saybrook were the only places occupied by the colonists; and their number at each one of these points was very small. It is true there were several thousand friendly Indians scattered over the intermediate and surrounding country; but they appear to have been

timid and inefficient, and of but little use to the settlers as warriors, although some of them were afterward very troublesome neighbours. They had been so terrified, oppressed, and weakened by the Mohawks or Five Nations on the west, and the Pequods on the east, as to have quite lost their bold, warlike character, if they had ever possessed any; for in no single instance do they appear to have rendered any essential aid to the white men, on whom they relied for protection from their first arrival.

Between the oppressors of these poor and afflicted tribes there existed a close alliance. It would have been terrible enough to the River Indians had they been exposed to the Five Nations or to the Pequods singly: but both of these formidable enemies were arrayed against them, and had combined together to harass and destroy them. We need not be surprised, therefore, that these dejected and terrified people should have been backward in joining the whites in the war with which they were threatened. The thought of entering the country of their enemies was doubtless dreadful to them; and, as they knew but little of the martial intrepidity, skill, and ability of their new friends, and might lose their protection in case they should prove unsuccessful, they no doubt considered it most prudent not to imbitter the enmity of the Pequods by uniting with their foes.

The country of the Pequods was small: but, as it afforded abundance of fish and game, the tribe was very numerous. They claimed, towards the east, all the country as far as Pawcatuck River, the present boundary between Connecticut and Rhode Island, as we learn from a manuscript in the office

of the secretary of state. On the north they bordered on the territory of the Mohegans, and on the west extended to Connecticut River. Within these limits, however, were embraced the territories of the Eastern and Western Nehantics, between which two tribes, as has been already mentioned, the Pequods were said to have seated themselves by force of arms.

In the year 1634, a small vessel had arrived at the mouth of Connecticut River from the island of St. Christopher's, in the West Indies, for the purpose of trading with the Dutch at their fort at Hartford. It was commanded by Captain Stone, who lived at St. Christopher's. He had eight men with him, besides a Captain Norton. Wishing to send two of his men up to the Dutch fort by land, he engaged some Nehantic Indians to serve as their guides. They set off together : but, while the sailors were asleep in the wilderness at night, the Indians murdered them. The captain, after their departure, drew up his vessel by the shore ; and, having confidence in the natives, allowed twelve of them to remain on board. These men had before traded with him on several occasions : but, from what afterward appeared, there is reason to believe they were in a plot with the sachems of the Pequods and Nehantics to kill and rob him and his men. The sailors happened to go on shore together, leaving Captain Stone asleep in the cabin ; and the Indians, seizing the opportunity, killed him, and left his body covered, that it might not be seen. They then attacked the others, and soon put them all to death, except Captain Norton, who got into the cook-room, and defended himself with the greatest

bravery with his fire-arms. He happened, however, to place some gunpowder in an exposed situation, that he might reload with greater convenience ; and this accidentally took fire, and burned him so much that his enemies were able to overpower and butcher him. The property found in the vessel was plundered ; and it was proved that Sassacus, the sachem of the Pequods, and Ninigret, the sachem of the Nehantics, each had a share.

In the following autumn the Pequods found themselves in trouble and danger, being threatened by two enemies at once. The Dutch, who had suffered from them as well as the English, had not shown as much forbearance, but killed one of their sachems, with several of his men, and taken others captive. At the same time, the Narragansets had attacked them on their eastern border ; and these were enemies powerful enough to be respected. The Pequods therefore felt disposed to conciliate the English ; and in November one of their tribe appeared at Boston, with a proposal for peace, and a quantity of beaver-skins and wampumpeag as a present. The governor, however, refused to treat with him, and told him the Pequods must send men of greater quality. Two other messengers were afterward sent, with a present and a similar request. The governor assured them that the English were very desirous of peace, but would insist on the delivery of the murderers.

The murder of Mr. John Oldham, by some Indians near Block Island, had been committed in 1635. He had gone from Windsor to trade with them. The crime was discovered by John Gallup, who was sailing from Connecticut to Boston. Ob-

serving Mr. Oldham's little trading vessel with many natives on deck, and a boat going from it loaded with goods, he hailed them, but received no answer. Although he had no crew except two Narraganset Indians and two boys, he sailed up and fired upon them with duck-shot, which drove them all below. He then stood off, and three times ran his vessel against the other, which frightened the Indians so much that eleven jumped out and were drowned. Then boarding it, he found four Indians remaining, two of whom defended themselves with swords below. The others he bound; and, fearing they might untie one another, threw one overboard. He found the body of Mr. Oldham shockingly mangled, and committed it to the sea. Taking out everything he could from the vessel, he attempted to tow it away: but he was obliged by bad weather to leave it in the night. Mr. Oldham's two boys were left captives among the Indians.

It proved that the murderers were chiefly Block Island Indians, with a few of the Narragansets, who then governed that island. It was supposed that several Indians with Mr. Oldham were in the plot, as some of the Narraganset sachems were found to be. Those who escaped crossed the Sound to the Pequods, and were protected by them.

The Governor and Council of Massachusetts determined to demand satisfaction of the Narragansets and Pequods for these crimes; and, ninety men having volunteered to form an expedition, Captain Endicott was appointed to command them, and they first visited Narraganset. There the Indians submitted to their terms, gave up the sons of

Mr. Oldham, and promised good behaviour for the future. The Pequods, however, would yield nothing; and Captain Endicott was ordered to take possession of Block Island, kill the men, and then recross the Sound to the Pequod country. There he was to demand the murderers of the Englishmen, and a thousand fathoms of wampum. If he could not get the murderers, he was to bring away some of the Pequod children as hostages; and, in case the Indians should refuse these terms, he was ordered to compel them by force of arms. He laid Block Island waste, but did not kill the inhabitants, who fled. He then crossed to Pequod (New-London) harbour, had a skirmish with three hundred •Indians, and burned their wigwams: but returned to Boston without effecting anything farther.

The Pequods were thought to have then begun seriously to purpose the entire overthrow of the English. They endeavoured to induce the Narragansets to join them in killing them; and for a time they had a prospect of success in drawing them into the plot. To prevent it, the Governor of Massachusetts invited Miantonimoh and other of their sachems to go to Boston, where they formed with him a treaty of peace, amity, and trade.

The Pequods, however, continued to be hostile, and closely watched the fort at Saybrook. Several of the men having gone in a boat to an island about two miles up the river, one day in October, to get hay, were assaulted by Indians while they had the hay on their backs, and one, named Butterfield, was killed. Eight or ten days after, John Tilley was taken captive, having landed about two miles above the fort to shoot game; and the Indians tortured him



in their manner, cutting off his hands and then his feet. Being unable to make him cry out or groan, they pronounced him a stout man. A party of Pequods also ambushed three men, who had been sent to keep a house about two miles from the fort; and two were taken prisoners, while the other cut his way through the enemy, sword in hand. The fort itself was soon so closely pressed by the Indians, that the men dared not venture beyond the reach of the guns. The neighbouring houses and haystacks were burned, and the cattle sometimes came in with arrows sticking in them.

This state of things lasted, with little intermission, through the winter; and when the spring came and vessels began to sail, they were so closely watched and so much threatened by the savages, that navigation was attended with great danger. The commander of the fort, Lieutenant Gardiner, was once waylaid, with ten or twelve of his men, on returning from the marshes which he had gone to burn over. The path lay then, as it does now, along a narrow piece of dry land, just beyond which the savages rose and killed three of the Englishmen, wounding the lieutenant and another, and closely pursued them to the fort. The latter died the next day. The Indians thus became more imboldened; and they would sometimes come in boats as near as they dared, and challenge the men to come out and fight, saying they would kill them "all one flies," and imitating the dying groans and pious exclamations of those whom they had tortured.

A shallop, on its way down the river a short time after, was captured by a number of canoes;

and the crew, having been killed, were cut and mangled in a shocking manner, and then hung on trees by the water-side, that they might be seen by their countrymen. What painful impressions would such a sight have made at the present day! How doubly distressing must have been the feelings excited in the state of things which then existed, when the people were few, most of them known to each other, scattered in feeble settlements, and in constant dread of the Indians! The cruelties practised by the Indians in their treatment of their captives greatly increased the dread of the whites. Sometimes they cut great gashes in their flesh, and filled them with hot embers and burning coals; sometimes they mangled and mutilated them alive, or burned them to death with a slow fire; and, when they uttered cries or prayers, they would imitate, insult, and ridicule them.

When the court next met, on the 21st of February, they addressed letters to Massachusetts, proposing prompt and severe measures against the Pequods. They complained that Captain Endicott's expedition had done more harm than good, by exasperating their enemies rather than terrifying or enfeebling them; and offered to send forces to join those of Massachusetts, and invade the Pequot country.

It was at this same court determined, that the name of Newtown should be changed to Hartford (after the birthplace of the Rev. Mr. Stone, who was a native of Hartford in England), and that of Watertown to Wethersfield. Not long after, the name of Dorchester was changed to Windsor. These names remain to the present day.

In the following March a re-enforcement of twenty men was sent to Saybrook fort, under Captain Mason; and after that the Pequods gave the place no more trouble. Captain Mason soon returned, being relieved by Captain Underhill and twenty men from Massachusetts. In April, however, a number of Indians laid an ambush at Wethersfield, and surprised some of the inhabitants on their way to the fields, killing six men and three women, and taking captive two girls. They also killed about twenty cows, and did other injuries.

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## CHAPTER VI.

The Crops fall short.—The Court determine on a War with the Pequods.—The troops embark, under the command of Captain Mason.—Uncas joins them.—An Indian captured and tortured by the Mohegans.—The expedition delayed at Saybrook by contrary Winds.—Differences of Opinion reconciled.—They sail for Narraganset.—Council with Miantonimoh.—They march into the Pequod Country, guided by Wequash.—Capture and burning of Sassacus's Fort and Village.—They re-embark, and return to Saybrook.

THUS the colonists continued to suffer under a variety of calamities; but they persevered, under a trust in God, whose service they so highly valued; and the prosperity which crowned their efforts to secure religious freedom to their posterity is a standing proof that they did not labour nor trust in vain. The want of good ploughs and other farming utensils caused the crops to be small; and, while the coarse grass which then grew in

their meadows was poor, they were unable to make their hay, as well as to till their ground in the best manner. So many cattle died for want, that a good cow was not to be bought for less than thirty shillings, while Indian corn was worth five shillings a bushel, and every other necessary bore a corresponding price.

On the 1st of May a court met at Hartford, composed of Messrs. Ludlow, Welles, Swain, Steele, Phelps, and Ward, magistrates, and Messrs. Whiting, Webster, Williams, Hull, Chaplin, Talcott, Gelfords, Mitchell, and Sherman, committees. They resolved on war against the Pequods, to be carried on by the three towns. Hartford was required to furnish forty-two men, Windsor thirty, and Wethersfield eighteen; and supplies were voted for this little army of ninety men. The people exerted themselves to favour the enterprise. When the news reached Massachusetts and Plymouth, their governments ordered troops to co-operate: the former two hundred men, the latter forty; and Captain Patrick set out immediately, with forty soldiers, to join the Connecticut troops as soon as possible.

On the 10th of May, Captain Mason embarked his troops in a pink, a pinnace, and a shallop, and sailed for Saybrook. He had been joined by seventy Mohegans from the place now called Norwich, under the command of their sachem, Uncas. Mason was an experienced officer, having been bred to arms in Europe. Mr. Stone accompanied the expedition as chaplain; and the embarkation at Hartford was attended with a solemn religious service performed on the shore. The water being

low, the vessels several times got aground; and delays occurred, which rendered the Mohegans so impatient, that they requested to be set on shore at a little distance above Saybrook fort. On their way thither by land they encountered a party of about forty Pequods, of whom they killed seven and took one prisoner. The captive was recognised as an Indian who had lived in the fort, where he had been kindly treated, and learned English, but had secretly acted as a spy, and informed Sassacus of what he saw. He had been present at the death of all the English killed at Saybrook. The Mohegans insisted on taking his life in their customary manner, and the English did not interfere, as they ought to have done on every principle of humanity and religion. The savages therefore made a fire, tore or cut him limb from limb, and ate his flesh with shouts and dancing, burning what remained of their inhuman banquet.

The vessels were detained by contrary winds till Friday. There was also a difference of opinion with respect to the best manner of proceeding: the under officers generally wishing to obey instructions by landing in Pequod harbour, while Mason preferred to avoid the numerous Indians who he had learned were assembled there, with sixteen muskets among their other arms, and to proceed to Narraganset, whence he might approach their forts by an unguarded route, and where they might be joined by recruits. Mason had received much information about the Pequods from the two girls they had captured at Wethersfield, whom the Dutch had just ransomed. Such was the religious character of the Connecticut people in those days,

that the officers requested their chaplain to pray to God earnestly for direction in the difficult circumstances; and he spent the greater part of Thursday night in prayer. In the morning the officers expressed their concurrence with Mason; and, as the wind permitted, on Friday, the 19th of May, the vessels sailed for Narraganset. Captain Mason, however, had sent twenty men back to guard the towns, and received in their places Captain Underhill and nineteen men from the fort.

Passing by Pequod harbour, the expedition reached the Narraganset country on the 20th; and Mason and Underhill, landing with a guard, marched to the plantation of Canonicus, one of the sachems, who sent for Miantonimoh. That chief held a council with the English, and promised aid; but advised them to wait for Captain Patrick, of whose arrival an Indian runner or messenger apprized them while assembled in council. But the Connecticut men were very impatient to accomplish the objects of the enterprise, that they might return. The troops therefore set off, accompanied by many Narragansets; and a considerable number of Eastern Niantics joined them when they had reached their country. Captain Mason was so fortunate as to procure a faithful Pequod guide. This was a man named Wequash, who had lived among the Narragansets for some time, and was acquainted with the country and situation of the enemy.

The first plan was to divide into two detachments, and attack both the Pequod forts at once: but the weariness of the men, the distance of Sasacus's fort, the difficulties of the way, and the desertion of many of the Indians, inclined the English

to follow the advice of their guide, and march in a body for the nearer fort at Mystic. They reached a marsh between two hills at twilight, and encamped by two rocks, now called Porter's Rocks, where they slept on the bare ground. Some of the sentinels were near enough to the fort to hear the shouts of the savages, who were rejoicing at what they supposed to be the timidity of the English: for, having seen their vessels sail by a few days before, they thought they had not courage enough to attack them. They spent most of the night in feasting and dancing, and then sunk into a deep sleep.

On the morning of the 28th of May, the troops were ordered out about two hours before daylight; and, after addressing prayers to God for guidance and success, they marched silently on, in the light of a clear moon: the Indians who remained with them falling behind with strong marks of fear. Wequash having informed the captain that the fort was on the top of the hill before them, he proceeded to the northeastern side, while Captain Underhill marched to assail the western. As Mason approached within a rod or two of the fort, a dog began to bark, and an Indian cried out, "Owanux! Owanux!" (English! English!), and some of the savages immediately appeared and endeavoured to repel them. But they received a general volley from their assailants through the poles or palisades with which the fort was surrounded; and, a moment after, the English rushed in at the gate sword in hand. The Indians made a resolute stand at first, but were soon driven back through the principal street of the village which their fortifications en-

closed. Some of Underhill's party soon fell on them in that direction, and they were obliged to seek shelter in their wigwams, but still kept up a desperate resistance. It proved impossible to dislodge them from these by force: for, when an Englishman entered a wigwam, he was set upon by several Indians at once. Numbers having been killed and the others being weary, Mason cried out, "We must burn them;" and, taking a fire-brand from a wigwam, he set it in a flame, and the whole village was soon in a blaze. Mason had been educated in Europe as a soldier; and even the Puritans retained too much of harsh feeling towards enemies. The English then formed a circle round the fort, and the friendly Indians another behind them, to prevent the escape of the Pequods; and thus, with most unjustifiable cruelty, they killed six or seven hundred men, women, and children in the course of one short hour: only seven escaping, and seven being captured. The others were shot as fast as they climbed up the palisades or ran out of the fort to avoid the fire. The English had two killed and twenty wounded.

In about an hour after the destruction of the fort, the three vessels were seen entering Mystic harbour. At the welcome and unexpected sight, the troops marched towards the shore to embark, followed by three hundred Pequods, who had come from Sassacus's fort on seeing the light of the fire. A constant skirmish was kept up, in which several Pequods were killed, but none of the English. They re-embarked and sailed for Connecticut; and thus the expedition was terminated, and the troops reached home again in about three weeks after its sailing.



In the mean time, the other and principal fort of the Pequods also was burned; not by an enemy, but by themselves: for the Indians threatened to kill their sachem, Sassacus, for having by his pride drawn on the nation the vengeance of the English. His chiefs, however, interceded for him; and, after destroying their fort and village, they all fled in different directions! Sassacus, Mononotto, and seventy or eighty chief counsellors marching for Hudson River, intending to seek refuge among the Mohawks. The others, by the secrecy and caution for which the Indians are so remarkable, long avoided discovery, and eluded their enemies who went in pursuit of them.

Late in June, Mr. Stoughton arrived at Pequod harbour from Boston with 120 men; and, having captured eighty Pequods in a swamp, killed all the men except two sachems, who promised to guide them to Sassacus. Forty men soon joined the Massachusetts troops at Pequod harbour; and, with the advice of Mr. Ludlow, who was with them, the army pursued the fugitives westward. They found the places where they had encamped every night, and observed that they travelled slowly, and had to dig clams and search the woods for food. On reaching Menunkatuck (now Guilford), they found that they could not obtain information from their two captives, and beheaded them.

## CHAPTER VII.

Reflections on the Expedition against the Pequods.—Captain Stoughton, with troops from Boston, pursues the Pequods.—The Swamp Fight at Fairfield.—Mononotto's Wife.—Severe treatment of Prisoners.—The Colonies suffer from scarcity of Food.—Military Arrangements in Connecticut.

THE enemy had now been dislodged, and their country was open to the colonists: but many of the Indians were wandering in the wilderness, and likely to fall upon some of the little scattering towns, which might probably have been overwhelmed as easily as their own had been. And it is not to be wondered at that the people should have been extremely apprehensive: for they had melancholy experience in their own feelings and conduct of the horrible influence of war. Though they had been educated as Christians, and wished to be guided by the laws of God, some of them had just destroyed by fire and sword many innocent persons, including women and children, with a few guilty ones; and what made this proceeding the more blameworthy was, that the sufferers were poor ignorant savages, who had never been taught the duty of man or the nature of God. They might, therefore, well imagine what the Pequods would do if allowed to recover from their panic or to assemble in great numbers; and they thought that their own safety required the entire reduction of their enemies, as plainly as it had before demanded the bloody attack they had made upon them.

We cannot say with certainty what might have been the effect if a different course had been pursued: but there is reason to think that more humane measures might have proved both safe and successful. When William Penn, on a certain occasion some years later, found that the Delaware Indians were dissatisfied with a bargain they had made for the sale of some land, though some of his friends proposed to make war upon them, he rejected the idea with abhorrence; and, sending for the chiefs, asked what they wanted, and paid them to their satisfaction. The consequence of such treatment was, the Delawares long and faithfully maintained peace and amity with Penn and his people. The New-Englanders set the first example in proclaiming and regarding the principles of justice and humanity towards the Indians; and Penn had the humanity uniformly to adhere to them.

Some measures were indeed taken to conciliate the Pequods before their destruction: but there is reason to presume that, if a humane course had been farther pursued, war might have been avoided. It is true that those Indians were proud and cruel, and regarded the English as their rivals; but, if a few good and intelligent men had visited them, and taken pains to convince them of their good intentions and friendly wishes, they might have persuaded them to desist from their treachery and cruelty. The Connecticut settlements were doubtless in threatening danger: but they ought to have confided in God for protection rather than have undertaken an indiscriminate slaughter of old and young, innocent and guilty. Happily, we shall not

## 66 FURTHER PURSUIT OF THE PEQUODS. [1637.

often be called to condemn the people of Connecticut for inhumanity.

We have reason to think that the Pequods are spoken of with unmerited severity by some of the New-England historians. "The Pequants" (or Pequods), says Wood, "be a stately, warlike people, of whom I never heard any misdemeanour; but that they were just and equal in their dealings; not treacherous either to their countrymen or English: requiters of courtesies, affable towards the English." It would have been difficult to give higher praise of any savage tribe in their condition; and it gives us reason to presume that the Pequods were equal to the neighbouring Indians in humanity and good faith. It is true they are chargeable with perfidy, deceit, and violence: but this was probably chiefly owing to their sachems; and the women and children ought to have found more mercy than they received. John Oldham was a man of a restless, troublesome character, who had been tried and punished in Plymouth, and was a kind of outcast. He may have provoked the Indians to his murder, as they declared Norton had done, who, they said, had killed some of the Indians. Wood's book was published in London three years before the Pequod war.

Captain Mason was soon after appointed to the command of forty men, who were ordered to be raised for the prosecution of the war.

This force united with that under Captain Stoughton at Pequod Harbour (New-London), whither Mr. Ludlow and several other gentlemen from Connecticut went, to advise on what should be done. They decided on pursuing the Pequods in

their flight westward ; and the vessels were ordered to sail along the Sound, while the troops were sent to scour the land in search of them. It is to be remembered that the country was then a perfect wilderness, not a habitation of a single white man being found south of Wethersfield in any part of the present state, excepting only at Saybrook Point. The only paths through the forest were such as are found in the wildest parts of Africa : mere foot-tracks, overhung by trees, and often impeded by vines and bushes, and barely passable by men walking in single file.

The troops took a few straggling captives, but were unable to ascertain where the main body of the enemy were, or whether their chiefs were with them or not. At length they reached Memunkatuck (now Guilford) ; and tradition says that they had a fight with a small body of Indians on the shore, at a spot thence named Bloody Cove. History states that, having found that the sachems whom they had kept as prisoners would not give them the promised information, they beheaded them at the little harbour (near that spot), hence called Sachem's Head. They then marched for Quinnepiack (now New-Haven), which they reached in three days. On approaching it they saw a great smoke, which they supposed proceeded from a Pequod encampment : but it led them to a party of their friends, the Indians of Connecticut River. The troops there embarked in the vessels ; and, after waiting several days, a Pequod informed the officers that a large number of his people were concealed in a swamp a few miles westward. The troops therefore hastened to the place, which was

in the present town of Fairfield, just west of the village, near the road. There they found a piece of ground thickly overgrown with trees, and so wet and muddy that it was almost impossible to enter it without sinking into the mire. The Indians appear to have occupied a firmer spot in the middle, being about 80 or 100 warriors, with about 200 others, including women and children.

Some of the white men rushed in, with Lieutenant Davenport at their head. They were, however, glad to escape alive : for the Indians, in desperation, met them so boldly that some were wounded, and several sunk into the mud, and would have been killed had not others come promptly to their rescue, sword in hand, and saved them from the tomahawk. After more fighting, some of them asked for a parley ; and, it being gladly granted, they said that the Indians who resided near the spot, and had gone in with the Pequods, desired to come out. Mr. Thomas Stanton acted as interpreter, being acquainted with some of the Indian languages and manners ; and he was authorized to promise life to all who had killed no Englishmen. About two hundred old men, women, and children accepted the offer, and came out in companies. But the Pequod warriors not only refused, but attempted to kill the interpreter, who was shot at, and would have lost his life but for the interference of some of the soldiers. The fight then began again, but ceased as night approached, when the soldiers surrounded the enemy, to watch them till morning. The Indians, under a thick mist, made several violent attacks on different sides to break out, and at length sixty or seventy of the bravest forced their

way through and escaped. Only about twenty were killed, who would not yield.

The women and children were divided among the troops of the different colonies. Some of those taken by Mr. Winslow for Massachusetts were sold as slaves in the West Indies; and this act of inhumanity we will not attempt to justify or excuse. A very interesting scene occurred in the course of the Swamp Fight (as this battle was called), which we may contemplate with greater pleasure. A delicate Indian female proceeded from the woods with two little sons, and presented herself before Mr. Winslow with such an air of modesty and dignity, that he, although accustomed to the manners of the British court, was greatly struck with admiration and respect. She declared herself to be the wife of Mononotto, the second sachem of the Pequods; and said that she had come to the English with only two requests, viz., that she might receive no personal injury, and that the lives of her children might be spared. It was known that she had before done the white men a service, by saving the lives of the two young women taken captive at Wethersfield by her intercession; and not only was her petition granted, but Mr. Winslow gave particular orders for her protection and accommodation, declaring that he was astonished at the natural grace and dignity of that untaught Indian female.

The prisoners told the colonists that thirteen sachems had been killed, and the same number had escaped. After this fight a number of scattered Pequods were killed by the Mohegans and Narragansets, who carried their heads to Hart-

ford and Windsor. About twenty chief warriors had fled for refuge beyond the Hudson to the Mohawks, with Sassacus and Mononotto, taking with them about 500 pounds' worth of wampum: but they were all killed by them except Mononotto. Sassacus's scalp was sent to Connecticut in the autumn.

At length a number of Pequod warriors came to Hartford, and offered to be the servants of the English if they would spare their lives. This was promised them; and the court took them under their protection. The court then requested Uncas and Miantonimoh to meet the Pequods at Hartford; and they came on the 21st of September, 1638, when a firm covenant was made with them for the division of the surviving Pequods (about 200, besides women and children) among the Mohegans and the Narragansets (80 to Miantonimoh, 20 to Ninigret, and 100 to Uncas), for a permanent peace, an appeal to the English in case of difficulty between the Indians, and the mutual forgiveness of all injuries. The Pequods were not to inhabit their own country, nor to be called Pequods again, but to be known by the names of the nations to whom they were given. Neither Narragansets nor Mohegans were to have any of the Pequod country without the consent of the English. The Pequods were to pay an annual tribute of a fathom of wampum for every sannop or warrior, half a fathom for every young man, and a hand for every male papoose (or child). A public thanksgiving was observed in all the towns for the establishment of peace.

The following winter was one of great scarcity.



The fields had been much neglected, in consequence of the absence of the men during the war; and clothes as well as food were at high prices. The court contracted with Mr. Pyncheon to buy 500 bushels of corn of the Indians, and forbade others to purchase of them at the time, lest the price should be raised. A committee was appointed to bring a vessel load from Narraganset: but the winter was remarkably cold, and the price rose to twelve shillings a bushel. In the midst of the distress, a committee was sent about eighty miles up the river, to Pocomtock (now Deerfield in Massachusetts), and the people had the pleasure of seeing, in the spring, fifty canoes come down at a time, laden with corn, to Windsor and Hartford, which they received with lively gratitude to God.

The court felt it necessary to pay their war debt, and provide for the complete arming of all the men in the colony, and laid the first tax, which amounted to 550 pounds.

On the 8th of March Captain John Mason was appointed major-general of the militia of Connecticut. The military staff was delivered to him by Mr. Hooker; and doubtless, as Trumbull remarks, "it was performed with that propriety and dignity which were peculiar to himself, and best adapted to the occasion." The general was directed to instruct the soldiers in each town in discipline ten times a year, and was paid £40 annually. Laws were passed the same year for the protection of the Indians in all their rights, and for the preservation of peace.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Mr. Davenport and his Company arrive at Boston from England.—They are urged to settle in Massachusetts.—A Committee of their number visit Winnipiack.—The Settlement of New-Haven begun there in 1638.—The "Plantation Covenant" formed.—Purchases of Land by the new Colony.—The Character and Objects of the Founders.—Planting of Milford, Guilford, Fairfield, and Stratford.

NEW-HAVEN, the most beautiful city in Connecticut, and probably in America, distinguished above others in the state by the number of its inhabitants and as the seat of Yale College, was first settled in 1638. The settlers were a band of pious Englishmen, consisting in part of the Rev. Mr. Davenport and his congregation, and including a number of men of wealth, in which respect they differed from the colonies which had preceded them.

Mr. Davenport had arrived in Boston the preceding year, in company with Mr. Samuel Eaton, Theophilus Eaton, Esq., Edward Hopkins, Esq., Mr. Thomas Gregson, and a considerable number of persons besides, who had left England to escape persecution, and to take up their abode in America. Mr. Davenport had been distinguished in England as a minister of great learning and piety. Messrs. Eaton and Hopkins had been successful merchants in London, and the former had resided three years in India, where he held the office of deputy-governor. Great exertions were made in Massachusetts to induce this wealthy company to remain in

that colony. The people of Cambridge proposed to relinquish to them their whole town, and the General Court to give them any place which they might select: but they preferred to penetrate farther into the interior of the country. Having heard favourable reports of the land west of Connecticut River, made by persons who had traversed it in pursuit of the Pequods, Messrs. Davenport, Eaton, and Hopkins requested their friends in Connecticut to purchase for them, of the native proprietors, all the land to Hudson River; and this object was partly accomplished by the next autumn, when Mr. Eaton went to explore the country with some of his party.

That highly respectable company appear to have had several reasons for not remaining in Massachusetts. Mr. Davenport held the opinion that no reformation in the church had ever been carried farther than where it was left by those who introduced it; and he probably thought that the system adopted in the new colonies was defective in some points not likely to be improved. He was a decided opponent of Antinomian doctrines, which at that time had progressed in Boston. Besides, he and his associates were apprehensive that the king would soon send out a governor-general of New-England, to whose authority they did not wish to be subject. Fully resolved on making a new settlement at a distance from the others, in the autumn of 1637 Mr. Davenport, with several of his friends, visited the shore of Long Island Sound, with the commercial and other advantages of which they were much pleased. They selected the place called Quinnepiack by the Indians, and by the Dutch Roebert; and, having built a hut there, a few of

their number spent the winter in it. This was the first habitation known to have been ever erected there, and, indeed, on any part of the Connecticut coast west of Saybrook fort. The settlement of New-Haven, however, did not really begin until the following year.

On the 30th of March, 1636, Messrs. Davenport, Prudden, and Theophilus and Samuel Eaton sailed from Boston with their companions. They reached Quinnepiack in about two weeks. On the 18th of April they spent their first Sabbath there, and in a truly Christian manner, viz., in the worship of God, and the strict observance of his holy day. The people assembled in the shade of a large oak-tree, at the place where George-street now crosses College-street; and Mr. Davenport preached an appropriate sermon from the 6th chapter of Matthew, 1st verse: "Take heed that ye do not your alms before men to be seen of them, otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven."

Shortly afterward, a day of fasting and prayer was observed; and at the close of it they formed what they called a "Plantation Covenant," in which they solemnly bound themselves, "That, as in matters that concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so also in all public offices which concern civil order, as choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing laws, dividing allotments of inheritance, and all things of like nature, they would, all of them, be ordered by the rules which the Scripture held forth to them." This was intended to be their rule until they should form a more intimate mutual acquaintance, and then they designed to covenant together as Christians.

The colonists at Quianepiack applied themselves with the utmost diligence to the labours necessary in their new condition; and these were, unhappily, greatly increased by a remarkably backward spring. The corn rotted in the ground, so that they found it necessary to replant two or three times; and, as the same cause affected the other colonies, great apprehensions of a dearth were entertained in all except that of Quinnepiack, which was probably supplied by its wealthy founders.

A remarkable earthquake occurred on the 1st of June in that year, which caused much consternation throughout New-England. The first shock was felt between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, and was accompanied with a sound like that of continued thunder, or the rolling of wheels on a pavement. It lasted four minutes; and the motion of the earth, which was from west to east, threw down many chimneys, and vessels from shelves, and made a commotion in the waters along the coasts. Repeated shocks were felt during twenty days. At the time of the first shock the weather was clear, and the wind from the west.

The first purchase of land at Quinnepiack was made on the 24th of November, 1638, of Momauquin, the sachem of that region. He and his people had been driven away by the Mohawks and Pequods, and their numbers had been reduced to forty men: but, under the protection of the English, they had returned; and, in gratitude, their sachems gave to Messrs. Eaton, Davenport, and others, their heirs and assigns for ever, "the land, rivers, ponds, and trees, with all the liberties and appurtenances belonging to the same." He cov-

enanted also that the Indians should keep true faith with the English in all things ; and, on their part, the English promised to protect them, and to give them a sufficient supply of land on the east side of the harbour, and a number of articles as a present. This agreement was signed ; and the interpreter, Thomas Stanton, declared, in the presence of God, that he had faithfully performed his duty as interpreter.

Another purchase was made of Mòntowese, son of the great sachem of Mattabeseck, including ten miles north and south, and thirteen east and west : that is, the old towns of New-Haven, Branford, and Wallingford, and most of what now forms East-Haven, Woodbridge, Cheshire, Hamden, and North-Haven, besides those just mentioned.

The founders of New-Haven displayed much taste and judgment in laying out their town ; and the inhabitants at the present day enjoy the benefit of their forethought, while every visiter to that beautiful city admires the regularity of its streets, and the conveniences which they afford, as well as the beauty of the fine open square which was reserved in the centre for a walk and public buildings. Around it were formed eight squares of equal size, with broad streets between them. These have been divided by narrower streets ; and, as they have now long since been occupied with buildings, many new squares have been added, some of them lying obliquely to the first.

## CHAPTER IX.

**The Constitution of Connecticut Colony, formed January 14th, 1639.—The Condition of the Towns which required it.—The Preamble and Provisions.—The Constitution of New Haven, formed June 4th, 1639.—Settlement of Guilford, Stratford, and Saybrook.**

THE towns on Connecticut River had thus far lived in much harmony and sympathy, under governments connected only by choice. They never, until 1639, formed an express constitution for a permanent union. It was planned and adopted in a perfectly democratic manner: for the people proceeded on the simple and equalizing principles of a Christian church, as they regarded it, and from the pure source of the Gospel did they design should flow their civil system, as well as their ecclesiastical and social state.

The first Constitution of Connecticut was formed in Hartford, after mature deliberation, at a meeting of the free planters of all the towns, who assembled on the 14th of January of that year. The preamble states, in substance, that they formed one public state or commonwealth for the establishment of order and government, and that they confederated, for themselves and their successors, to maintain the liberty and purity of the Gospel, and the discipline of the churches according to its institution. The constitution provided for two General Courts or Assemblies annually, on the second

## 78 FIRST CONNECTICUT CONSTITUTION. [1639.]

Thursdays of April and September; elections to be held at the former for at least six magistrates and all other public officers, by the freemen, by ballot; and for choosing a governor for a year, or until another be chosen, to be bound by an oath to execute the laws, and to be guided by the Scriptures in cases for which no law existed. It declared all to be freemen who had been received as members of towns, and taken the oath of fidelity to the commonwealth. The governor was required to be a member of a regular church, and to have been a magistrate; and he could not be elected more than once in two years. To be a candidate for a magistrate, a man was required to be a freeman, and to be nominated by the freemen or the General Court. The Assembly in September was to meet only for the enactment of laws. Three deputies were to be sent by each of the three oldest towns, and as many by the others as the Assembly should determine; and the deputies were to exercise all the powers of their respective towns. In case the governor should refuse to call an Assembly, it might be called by the constables on a vote of the freemen, choose a moderator, and proceed with full power. The adjournment of an Assembly could not take place without a majority of votes of members; and a tax could be laid only by a committee formed of an equal number of representatives from all the towns. The governor had a casting vote.

It is worthy of attention, that a constitution showing so much sagacity, foresight, devotion to the public good, and the happiness of posterity, and founded on principles so thoroughly democratic,



was made more than two hundred years ago, at a time when the rights of man were so imperfectly understood and so generally denied in other parts of the world. There are but few constitutions in existence even at the present period, in which the principles of equal rights are as distinctly avowed and as carefully protected: while, in most of the countries of Europe, the most intelligent men at this day deny the reasonableness or the possibility of sustaining a community on such a foundation.

The first Assembly under the constitution met at Hartford in April, 1639, and consisted of the following deputies: Messrs. John Steele, Spencer, John Pratt, Edward Stebbins, Gaylord, Henry Wolcott, Stoughton, Ford, Rayner, Boosy, George Hubbard, and Richard Crab, by whom John Haynes was chosen governor, Mr. Ludlow deputy-governor, and Mr. Wells treasurer. The magistrates were Messrs. Ludlow, George Wyllys, Edward Hopkins (who had become a resident of Hartford), Thomas Wells, John Webster, and William Phelps.

The first law passed was entitled the Bill of Rights; and it ordained that, "unless by virtue of an express law of the colony sufficiently published, or, in defect of such law, by some plain rule of God's word, in which the whole court shall concur, no man shall lose life or good name, be arrested, restrained, banished, dismembered, or in any way punished, deprived of wife, children, or property, under colour of authority."

A noble testimony was also given, by the passage of another law, to the truly republican character of the people: it being ordained that all persons in the colony, whether inhabitants or not,

should enjoy the same law and justice without partiality or delay.

At the new colony of Quinnepiack, or New-Haven, a constitution was formed a short time afterward. Having postponed it until the second year, the free planters assembled in a large barn, and listened to a sermon from Mr. Davenport on Proverbs, ch. ix., v. 1: "Wisdom has builded her house, she has hewn out her seven pillars." He taught that a church should rest on seven pillars. The colony had been recently joined by more emigrants, chiefly other members of Messrs. Davenport's and Eaton's company (from Kent and Surrey, near London), and Mr. Whitfield and members of his congregation. Among them were William Leet, Esq., Messrs. Samuel Desborough, Robert Kitchel, and William Chittenden.

Mr. Davenport, after a solemn invocation of the Divine Majesty, proceeded to represent to the planters that they had met to consult respecting the settling of civil government according to the will of God, and for the nomination of persons who, by universal consent, were in all respects the best qualified for the foundation work of a church. He enlarged on the great importance of the transactions before them, and desired that no man would give his voice in any matter until he fully understood it; and that all would act without respect to any man, but give their vote in the fear of God. Several questions were then proposed by Mr. Davenport, which having been considered, six resolutions were passed, declaring "that the Scriptures hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men, in all duties which they are to

perform to God and men, as well in families and commonwealth as in matters of church ;" that the Scriptures should be their guide in all matters of church and state ; that all who desired to become free planters had settled there with a wish to be church members, and felt " bound to establish such civil order as might best conduce to the securing of the purity and peace of the ordinance to themselves and their posterity according to God ;" that only church members should be free burgesses and choose magistrates ; and that twelve men should be chosen and tried, who might choose seven to begin the church. It was then agreed that every person to be received as a free planter should sign those articles. After a term of trial, Theophilus Eaton, and Messrs. Davenport, Newman, Gilbert, Fugill, Punderson, and Dixon were chosen the seven pillars of the church.

This constitution was formed with the same great leading objects as those of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Plymouth: to establish government on the principles of Christianity, by which the people should be secured to the latest generations in the enjoyment of equal liberty and justice. The founders believed that the source of excellence of character was true piety ; that the best friends of man were the servants of God ; and that those who did not profess to regard the Bible as his word, nor to make it their rule of conduct, were not most likely to understand the public interests, to appreciate and faithfully to consult them. We, at the present day, differ from them entirely in the opinion that a religious test is the safest ; and, in a larger population than they had to provide for, they would

doubtless have found many difficulties in conducting public affairs which they did not find among a few men, well known to each other, who had separated themselves from their country to enjoy in a wilderness their similar principles. We must, however, all unite in respecting the purity of their intentions and the exalted nature of their objects ; for it is impossible for any men to adopt more philanthropic, noble, and sacred motives than theirs. We should remember, also, that they had derived their political principles from their religious ones, and had not much reason to expect that other men, at that time, would imbibe them from any other source. In our day, millions of men who do not profess religion, both in this country and in other parts of the world, are advocates of freedom and equal laws, because they have witnessed their good influence under the operation of such institutions as were established by the founders of New-England. In 1639, such men were generally opposed to such institutions, which it was thought could not safely be trusted in their hands. The love of power was not the predominant motive with the legislators of New-England. Like Washington, they preferred the commonwealth to self-aggrandizement, and felt a high delight, as well as a solemn impression of duty, in keeping the political atmosphere free from every taint and impurity.

Roger Williams felt compelled to exclude the friends of Rome from political power in Rhode Island, as the supposed enemies of New-England principles. Penn could not find higher principles than these, either for political institutions or in in-

tercourse with the Indians, though in some points he was more faithful in applying the latter.

Those pure and sincere men, the founders of Connecticut, denied the divine right of kings, and had been led, by their observations, experience, and reflections in England, to the conclusion, that man is too frail in judgment and virtue to be safely trusted with the uncontrolled government of others. Many melancholy evidences of this had been presented in English history. The whole fabric of government in Europe, too, they saw to be built on principles destructive of the equality taught in the Scriptures. That book opposes no established political system, but inculcates respect and obedience to all. They thought, however, that, for laying the foundation of a new government, they could find in it nothing like a plan, except in the constitution of a church, and no principles but the simple ones of equal rights and equal duties. These they adopted; and in the application of them to a system, they proceeded with a degree of honesty, solemnity, and caution which should be imitated by their successors. If we or any other people can determine how to proceed with greater wisdom, happy will it be; and if we are always guided by objects as noble and motives as pure, we may think we have done our duty.

In the same year (1639), settlements were commenced at Wopowage (now Milford) and Menunkatuck (now Guilford), and the government of each was formed on the plan of New-Haven. The seven pillars in Milford were the Rev. Mr. Prudden, William Fowler, Edmund Tapp, Zechariah Whitman, Robert Treat, Alexander Bryan, and John Ast-

wood. Those of Guilford were Henry Whitfield, Robert Kitchel, William Leet, Samuel Desborough, William Chittenden, John Bishop, and John Casinge. These men formed courts, and were to be guided by the Scriptures until a written code should be drawn up. The lands in those towns and in New-Haven were purchased by their principal men, and held in trust for the people, who, after contributing to pay the expenses of surveying, &c., drew lots proportioned to their contributions.

Milford (including a part of Derby) was bought from the Indians, and settled by men chiefly from Wethersfield. They purchased also a large tract on the west side of Stratford River. The Indians were numerous, and the planters palisaded the town plat, nearly a mile in circuit. The Guilford Indians soon moved away, as that was agreed in the sale of the town. The settlers were farmers from Surrey and Kent in England, and chose Menunkatuck, because the soil on the great meadow on the shore of the Sound resembled that they had left. This had been kept cleared by the Indians, and the heaps of shells which they had thrown up increased its fertility.

Sasco or Fairfield was also purchased, and settled by Mr. Ludlow and eight or ten families. He had seen the land while engaged in the war. A company of settlers soon after came from Watertown, and another from Concord. The town was formed under the jurisdiction of Connecticut. Cupheag and Pughquonnuck (now Stratford) were settled by Mr. Fairchild from England, John and William Curtis and Samuel Hawley from Roxbury, and Joseph Judson and Timothy Wilcoxson from

Concord. Others joined them; and Mr. Adam Blackman, an Episcopal minister from Leicester and Derbyshire in England, was their first pastor. It is said that he brought several of his congregation with him. The whole township was not purchased until 1672, and then several reserved tracts were excepted.

At Saybrook preparations had been early made for some gentlemen of wealth and distinguished families, among whom was Oliver Cromwell, afterward Lord Protector of England: but the war and the state of the country had prevented, and left it as it was, with only twenty men, and the soldiers in the fort. About midsummer arrived Mr. George Fenwick, with his pious and amiable wife, Lady Arabella Fenwick, who left the highest refinements of England for our then wild country, and whose monument is now the only remaining memorial of the position of the fortification in which it is said to have been placed. Mr. Fenwick had come to take possession of a large tract of land on the river for the patentees, and to commence a large town, which he laid out, and named Saybrook, after two of them: Lord Say-and-Seal and Lord Brook.

Mr. Thomas Peters was the first minister; and the principal men were Captain Gardiner, Thomas Leffingwell, Thomas Tracy, Captain John Mason, and Messrs. Huntington, Baldwin, Reynolds, Backus, Bliss, Waterman, Hide, Post, and Swift. We learn from tradition that Mr. Fenwick expected Saybrook Point to become a large commercial city; and that the regularity of its streets and fields, and the public purposes assigned to several squares, are all traceable to his plan. Saybrook

then embraced part of Lyme, and extended north eight miles, and west to Kenilworth, which is now called Killingworth.

## CHAPTER X.

**Difficulties of Connecticut with Sowheag, sachem of Middletown.—Pequods driven from their old Planting Grounds by Captain Mason.—Trouble with the Dutch.—Incorporation of Towns.—Execution of a Pequod Sachem at New-Haven.—Treatment of the Indians.—Purchases of Land for new Towns.**

BUT, while so many were employed in the more pleasing occupations of peace, the conduct of some of the Indians had nearly led Connecticut into another war. It was discovered that Sowheag, the powerful sachem, the remains of whose fort are still to be seen at the entrance of the straits at Middletown, had played the traitor the preceding year: for, with some of the Indians of Wethersfield, he had aided the Pequods in the murders they had committed there; and he had treated with contempt those who demanded the criminals. Mr. Stone and Mr. Goodwin were sent by the court to persuade him: but, as they failed, and he continued to ill treat the colonists, the court agreed to send 100 men to take the offenders. The New-Haven council, however, prevailed on them not to take so hasty a step; and thus, by their humane advice, no doubt saved much bloodshed.

There was difficulty this year with the Pequods,



who, in violation of their agreement, had planted fields with corn in their former country, at what is now New-London; and Captain Mason was sent, with forty men, to dislodge them and to bring off their crop. Uncas joined him with twenty canoes and 100 men. Mason sent a warning to the Pequods from Pawcatuck Bay, but received no answer. He suddenly attacked their wigwams and drove the Indians away; and while Uncas's men were carrying off the corn, about sixty Pequods rushed upon them from a hill. The English, who had never seen an Indian fight, had now an opportunity, and were struck with their peculiar mode of making and repelling an assault. The Mohegans stood perfectly still as their enemies approached, until they were within about thirty yards, and then set up a yell and fell upon them, striking with bows and knives. The English marched to cut off the retreat of the Pequods, but would not fire upon them; and they fled, leaving seven prisoners. These men behaved with such violence that some wished to kill them: but, at the request of Otash, the brother of Miontonimoh, who offered to give up the heads of seven murderers, they were delivered to Uncas, to be exchanged in that manner. The next morning 300 Indians appeared, with some threatening language: but they declined fighting with the English, who, they said, were spirits; and Mason having, according to the orders of the court, burned the wigwams and carried off the corn and twenty canoes, with the help of the Mohegans, brought back his men in safety. We cannot but think that, if milder measures had first been

tried, and a kind remonstrance made to these poor Indians, the effects might have been better.

These were not the only things that gave the new colonies serious apprehensions this year. The leading Dutchmen at Manahadoes (New-York), who, being from a Protestant country, ought to have sympathized deeply with them, had come to America for trade, and not for religious purposes, and were influenced by the changing relations between Holland and England. The people at Hartford received notice that they would be no longer permitted to trade with the Dutch at Fort Good Hope;—and, at the same time, Kieft, the new and energetic governor of Manahadoes, protested against the settlement of New-Haven. The court therefore sent a committee to confer with Mr. Fenwick about a confederation of all the colonies for mutual offence and defence, and found him favourable to it.

The several towns of the colony were incorporated this year, and authorized to form courts of their own, of three, five, or seven men, for the decision of all cases of trespass and debt not exceeding forty shillings, and were ordered to keep public legers for the record of all houses, lands, and transfers thereof, which transfers could not be valid until so recorded. This was the origin of the privileges of particular towns. The new towns had also particular courts of magistrates, to meet once a quarter, for the trial of appeals, and all land titles and larger causes: having the jurisdiction of the present county and superior courts, and discretionary powers not allowed at the present day.

On the 30th of October, Nepautuck, a noted

Pequod sachem, was executed at New-Haven. In his trial it had been proved that he killed John Finch of Wethersfield, took prisoner one of Mr. Swain's daughters, and aided in the death of three men in a shallop on the river. His head was cut off by an executioner so inexperienced, that he gave several blows at his neck before he succeeded, the Indian sitting upright. The head, according to the barbarous custom still prevalent in Italy, was stuck up in the market-place.

The planters of Connecticut proved by their conduct that they did not seek to obtain undue advantage over the Indians. Even the Pequod war was not undertaken for the purpose of increasing their territory, but only in self-defence; for they did not need their lands, nor did they use them for a considerable time. If they had wished for them, they would have preferred to pay several times their value. They allowed the other tribes all the land they claimed after the destruction of the Pequods, and took none without paying a satisfactory price. Indeed, in most cases they bought the land in large tracts, and afterward paid for it again in smaller ones, when they wished to occupy it. In some instances, they thus purchased land thrice, and, with the repeated presents made to the sachems, the sums they spent were very large. It was admitted by good judges at the time, that they paid more than the land was worth, even after the improvements were made; and large estates were expended by some of the settlers in buying land at such prices as should prevent any dissatisfaction among the natives. At the same time, they allowed them the right of hunting and fishing on the ground they

had sold, as freely as the English, and to dwell and cut wood on it for more than a century ; and required the towns, by law, to reserve proper tracts for the Indians to cultivate. Laws were made to protect them from injury and insult ; and the colonists were at much expense to protect some of them (Uncas and the Mohegans especially) from their enemies.

Uncas sold to Connecticut all his land, except what his people planted, on the 1st of September, 1640 ; and Westfield (then Waranoke) was purchased and occupied. Governor Haynes bought Farmington (or Tunxis), with its beautiful meadow, for Hartford ; and Governor Hopkins built a trading-house there. In 1640, also, part of Norwalk was purchased, but only a few families occupied it until 1651, when the western part of it was obtained. About the same time, New-Haven purchased Greenwich (now the southwestern town in the state) ; but the settlers of it revolted to the Dutch, and Governor Stuyvesandt incorporated it. Other purchases were made by New-Haven : first, of Stamford (or Rippowams), from the sachems Ponus and Toquamske, for thirty pounds ; second, Southold (Yennycok), on Long Island ; and, third, a large tract on Delaware Bay and River, where trading-houses were erected, and about fifty families sent to settle. Connecticut also made a purchase of land on Long Island. It extended from Oyster Bay to Holmes's Bay, and back to the middle of the great plain, and settlements were begun.

Stamford was settled by families from Wethersfield, a division in sentiment having unhappily arisen among the members of the church there, who

had come without their pastor, and long suffered from discord. The churches of the other towns and colonies exerted themselves to restore harmony, and removal was at length agreed on by some of the Wethersfield people. Some of the principal of these were the Rev. Richard Denton, Messrs. Matthew Mitchel, Thurston Rayner, Andrew Ward, Richard Coe, and Richard Gilderseve. In 1633 or 1634, Mr. Denton, with a part of his congregation, settled Hempstead, on Long Island.

## CHAPTER XI.

**Fears of an Indian War.—Precautions.—The ten Capital Laws of Connecticut.—The Confederation of the New-England Colonies formed in 1645.—Its Objects and History.—The Preamble and Provisions.—Results.—Miantonimoh makes War on Uncas.—The Battle of Sachem's Field.—Miantonimoh made Prisoner.—Taken to Hartford.—Killed by Uncas.**

In the year 1641, an Indian war was apprehended, and orders were given for all the men to be prepared for defence. A careful watch was kept, and on the Sabbath there was a strong guard posted in every place of public worship. The Court of Connecticut sent to request the Dutch to sell no more arms and ammunition to the Indians, and to propose to settle all disputes: but were treated with insolence. At this the Dutch in Fort Good Hope, at Hartford, received runaways from justice and their masters, purchased stolen goods, and assisted

criminals in breaking jail. The Dutch governor of New-York also imprisoned some of the Connecticut settlers on Long Island, and broke up the colonies there as far as Oyster Bay, as well as those made by New-Haven on the Delaware, injuring them to the value of £1000. Mr. Lambertson, one of the principal men of New-Haven, who was trading in Delaware, was falsely accused by the Dutch and Swedish agent, and arbitrarily fined; and he was afterward ill-treated by Governor Kieft at Manahadoes (New-York). Indeed, the Dutch for several years injured the colonists in different ways, and gave them no satisfaction, though they repeatedly remonstrated.

In the course of the same year, Connecticut formed ten capital laws, which were recorded, with passages of Scripture on which they were founded. The crimes which were to be punished with death were: the worship of any but the true God (Deut. xiii., 6, and xvii., 21; Ex. xxii., 2); blasphemy (Lev. xxiv., 15, 16); to be a witch, which was defined as one that "hath or consulteth with a familiar spirit" (Ex. xxii., 18; Lev. xx., 22; Deut. xviii., 10, 11); murder with malice (Ex. xxi., 12-14; Numb. xxxv., 30, 31); slaying through guile, as "by poison or other such devilish practices" (Ex. xxi., 14) (unnatural and incestuous crimes, &c., were among the number); man-stealing (Ex. xxi., 16); false witness to take away life (Deut. xix., 16, 18, 19); conspiracy, rebellion, and invasion. Afterward the following crimes were made capital: arson, cursing or smiting a parent, and notorious stubbornness in children after a specified age. Persons deserting

the settlements, and living in a heathenish manner among the Indians, were to suffer three years' imprisonment, or corporal punishment.

An invitation was received by Mr. Hooker of Hartford, in 1642, to attend the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, to settle the church government. Mr. Davenport of New-Haven and Mr. Cotton of Boston were likewise invited: but they all declined the invitation.

A General Court met at New-Haven for that colony on the 5th of April, 1643. Several deputies from other towns were present: Captain John Underhill and Mr. Richard Gildersleve, deputies from Stamford. Messrs. Mitchel, Rayner, Underhill, Ward, and Coe were appointed judges of the court in Stamford, which had the same powers as that of New-Haven. Guilford (or Menunkatuck) was first represented by Mr. William Leet and Mr. Desborough.

A law was passed, which indicates that the people were less acquainted with public affairs than was necessary. It required jurors to attend diligently to their cases; and, if they should not agree, to offer their reasons, which the court were to answer, and send them out again. After this a majority might give a verdict. In case of an equal division, the court or magistrates might determine. The first notice of a grand jury is found this year, when it was ordained that one should attend each court.

In 1643 a most important measure was adopted, viz., a confederation of all the New-England Colonies excepting Rhode Island. It was natural for the people and their rulers to desire such a union,

as they had all felt the advantage of co-operation, and had common enemies and dangers against which they ought to guard, as they had then no aid to hope for from England. A confederation had been contemplated for several years; and articles of union had been drawn up and proposed in 1638, and deferred a year for consideration. Ever since 1639, Connecticut had annually sent a committee to Massachusetts to promote the plan; and New-Haven also had it much at heart. With Mr. Fenwick, the governor of the fort and colony of Saybrook, Connecticut had already a connexion of this nature.

In 1643 the colonies of Plymouth, Connecticut, and New-Haven sent commissioners to Boston, where they held a meeting with others appointed by the General Court of Massachusetts; and on the 19th of May they signed articles of confederation, which greatly contributed to the strength, protection, and prosperity of the country, until it was terminated by the arbitrary interference of the English kings. The distinguished men to whom this important measure was committed were Governor Haynes and Mr. Hopkins of Connecticut, Mr. Fenwick of Saybrook, Governor Eaton and Mr. Gregson of New-Haven, Mr. Winslow and Mr. Collier of Plymouth, and from Massachusetts, Governor Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Bradstreet, magistrates, and Mr. Hawthorne, Mr. Gibbons, and Mr. Tyng, deputies.

The preamble of the articles of confederation states, in the true and distinguishing spirit of the people of the colonies, that, as "they all came into these parts of America with one and the same end



and aim, to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity and peace, they conceived it their bounden duty to enter into a present confederation among themselves, for mutual help and strength in all future concerns, that, as in nation and religion, so in other respects they be and continue one, and henceforth be called by the name of **THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW-ENGLAND.**" They therefore did, jointly and severally, for themselves and their posterity, enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity, of offence and defence, mutual aid and succour, upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberty of the gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare.

The colonies were to have distinct jurisdictions, and to send two commissioners, church members, to meet annually on September 1st at Boston, Hartford, New-Haven, and Plymouth in turn, but twice successively at Boston. They were to have power to make war, peace, laws and rules relating to the Indians, general defence, and the encouragement and support of religion; and war expenses were to be paid in proportion to the number of males between sixteen and sixty years of age. On news of an invasion, Massachusetts was to send one hundred men, and the other colonies forty-five each. The commissioners might send more. A vote of six of them was to bind all. The vote of a majority less than six must be confirmed by all the general courts to be binding. Questions of the violation of the articles by either colony were to

be determined by the commissioners of the others. Fugitives were to be restored.

This union strengthened the colonies in fact, and in their own view as well as their neighbours', some of whom were benefited by its aid. It probably was the means of their preservation in the succeeding dangers and wars; and it formed, to a great degree, the model, while it gave the idea of subsequent confederations, and finally of the union of our states. The principle and objects were the same, and our New-England ancestors had the intelligence, virtue, and perseverance to devise and try the plan, which nothing but experiment could properly test and recommend to the confidence of their successors.

This combination of power was formed just in season to prevent the evils of an Indian war. Miantonimoh, chief sachem of the Narragansets, had been relieved from his greatest rivals by the destruction of the Pequods; and now Uncas was the only one who remained. He perfidiously broke his treaty with him and the colonies, by inciting the Indians to an insurrection, and by several attempts on the life of Uncas, whose faithfulness had acquired the confidence of the whites in a degree which may have excited his jealousy. It was found that many Indians were collecting arms and ammunition; and the towns instituted the strictest watch at night, to prevent surprise.

Connecticut urged that one hundred men might be sent forthwith to Saybrook, to act when required: but Massachusetts doubted the necessity of such a measure. Miantonimoh, however, showed his feelings by hiring one of Uncas's men, who was a Pe-

quod, to kill him. He wounded him in the arm in the spring of this year, and fled, spreading the report, on his way to Narraganset, that Uncas was dead. Miantonimoh pretended that Uncas had cut his own arm with a flint, to impose on the English; and when he visited Boston with the assassin, instead of removing suspicions, he only confirmed them, and was able to save the Pequod from being sent to Uncas only by fair promises. On their way home, however, he killed him, probably to prevent him from testifying.

One day, as Uncas was going down Connecticut River, several arrows were shot at him by the sachem Sequassen or his men, who had killed one of Uncas's principal Indians. Uncas having complained, Governor Haynes tried in vain to accommodate the difficulty. Sequassen insisted on fighting, and was overcome and killed by the Mohegan chief.

Miantonimoh was now suddenly reported to be on his march against Uncas, with 900 or 1000 men. He intended to take him by surprise, and crush him at a blow. But Uncas had spies sufficiently watchful and trustworthy to give him timely information; and, although he was not prepared for war, trusting, doubtless, to Miantonimoh's regard for his treaty with him and the colonies, he promptly marched to meet him, with such warriors as he could collect, without loss of time: a force of between 400 and 500 men. With his characteristic coolness and sagacity, after acquainting his men with his designs, and having proposed a parley, he advanced alone towards the enemy, and thus addressed Miantonimoh: "You have a num-

ber of stout men with you, and so have I. It is a pity that such brave warriors should be killed in a private quarrel between us only. Come, like a man, as you profess to be, and let us fight it out. If you kill me, my men shall be yours ; but if I kill you, your men shall be mine."

This challenge, though fairly made, and which Uncas, no doubt, was ready to adhere to, he did not expect Miantonimoh would accept. He probably knew him to be at heart less valiant than himself. Miantonimoh replied, "My men came to fight, and they shall fight." Uncas, on receiving the expected answer, threw himself on the ground ; and his men, pouring in a cloud of arrows, rushed on with their horrible yells, and put their enemies to instant flight. Those who are acquainted with the region where this fight took place, may imagine the difficulties it presented to a flying army ignorant of its surface. It is that irregular piece of ground in the eastern part of Norwich, just beyond "Sachem's Plain," broken with many rocks and ledges ; and at that time, numerous trees, standing and fallen, must have added to the other impediments. The Narragansets were driven down precipices, and about thirty of them killed and many wounded. Miantonimoh was soon overtaken by the foremost of the Mohegans : but they thought their chief sachem would prefer to make him his captive, and neither killed nor seized him, only checking his course with their hands as they passed him, one after another, until Uncas came up.

When Miantonimoh saw that he was in the power of the more noble man whom he had injured, he offered neither to resist nor to escape,

but sullenly sat down, and would not answer a word. Uncas gave a whoop, which the Mohegans understood; and, leaving the pursuit, they assembled around him. Among the wounded were two sons of Canonicus, the second Narraganset sachem, and Miantonimoh's brother. He was brought a prisoner to Uncas by two of the conquered chiefs, who had found him disabled by his wound and a suit of mail which he wore. Being Mohegans who had deserted to Miantonimoh, they hoped they would be forgiven for bringing in such a prisoner: but Uncas and his men put them to death. Miantonimoh would not make any request nor utter a single word, though Uncas said to him, "If you had taken me, I should have besought you for my life." He was then led to Mohegan in triumph.

Uncas soon received a message from Samuel Gorton and his company, who had settled on lands under the jurisdiction of Plymouth and Massachusetts, threatening him if he should not release his prisoner. Those men wished Miantonimoh to be at liberty, because they claimed the lands on a deed from him. Uncas therefore took Miantonimoh to Hartford, where he begged earnestly to be kept under the protection of the English. Uncas left him with them under guard, but insisted that he should be regarded as his prisoner. The governor and magistrates thought it not proper to interfere, as the quarrel was a private one, but advised that the matter should be referred to the commissioners, who decided in September that he deserved death, and gave him to Uncas to be executed out of their territory, advising that no cruelty

should be permitted. Governor Winthrop, president of the commissioners, says it was clearly proved that Miantonimoh had formed an extensive conspiracy for the extermination of the colonists.

Uncas and a party of his warriors took Miantonimoh back to the ground on which he had been captured, and, without giving him any warning, one of them killed him with a blow of a hatchet, which split his skull. Uncas then showed more of a savage disposition than in any other case on record. He cut a large piece of flesh from the shoulder of the corpse and ate it, declaring that it was the sweetest meat he had ever eaten ; it made his heart strong. He then gave orders for the interment of the body on the spot, which was done, and a heap of stones was placed upon it. This was performed in the presence of two Englishmen, who had been sent as witnesses, and to prevent any cruelty. Soldiers were then stationed at Mohegan to protect Uncas from the Narragansets, and messengers were sent by the commissioners to Canonicus, saying that they had ascertained the treachery of the Narragansets, but strongly desired peace, and offered it to them in the name of the United Colonies, with assurances of protection.

The General Court of New-Haven this year decreed, "That none should be admitted free burgesses in any of the plantations but such as were members of some approved church in New-England ; that such only should have any vote in elections ; and that no power for ordering any civil affairs should be put into the hands of any but such." Free burgesses might vote for governor, magistrates, secretary, and treasurer. The towns, in

ordinary cases, were to choose their own judges, which were to have jurisdiction in civil cases not exceeding twenty shillings, and in criminal cases not exceeding the punishment of the stocks, whipping, or fining five pounds.

A Court of Magistrates was also appointed for the colony of New-Haven, consisting of all the magistrates, to meet twice a year, on the Mondays preceding the General Courts in April and October, to determine, by a majority of votes, appeals and important causes. Non-attendance was to be punished by a fine ; four magistrates would form a quorum, but juries were not provided for. The General Court was also established at this time, and was to meet at New-Haven on the first Wednesday of April and the last of October, consisting of the deputy-governor, magistrates, and two deputies from each town. At the latter session, annually, a governor, deputy-governor, magistrates, secretary, treasurer, and marshal or high sheriff were to be chosen. This court was invested with the supreme power of the commonwealth

## CHAPTER XII.

Letter of Congratulation and Complaint from the Dutch Governor.—The Indian and Dutch War injurious to Connecticut and New-Haven.—Uncas pressed by the Narragansets.—Aid sent to him.—The Narragansets meet the Commissioners at Hartford.—Annual Contributions commenced in the Colony for the Support of indigent Students in Cambridge College.—Southampton taken under Jurisdiction.—Renewed Apprehensions of an Indian War.—Difficulty with Governor Kieft of New-York.

SOME weeks before this, the Governor of Manahadoes wrote to Governor Winthrop, expressing great pleasure at the union of the English colonies, but complaining of Connecticut and New-Haven for insufferable injuries, and for having sent misinformation against the Dutch to their agent in Europe. An amicable letter was sent in reply; and the commissioners soon afterward, having considered the subject, directed their president to write, demanding satisfaction for injuries done to Connecticut and New-Haven, and declaring that, while they would wrong no one, they would never desert their confederates in so just a cause. Both parties had now expressed a desire for that state of friendship and harmony which would have been so becoming the colonies of two Protestant nations; and the situation of one of them soon compelled it earnestly to ask help of the other.

A drunken Indian, some time previously, had



killed a Dutchman, and this would probably have caused a war but' for the prudence of the governor. Some of the people, it was said, induced the Mohawks to massacre about thirty Indians living near the Dutch, which drove the survivors to them for protection. Captain Marine, with the governor's permission, then suddenly attacked them, and destroyed seventy or eighty men, women, and children. This brought on a war; and in the spring of this year many Dutch houses and barns were burned, some of the latter after the cattle had been driven into them; and about twenty persons were killed. The Indians on Long Island having committed similar acts, the governor invited Captain Underhill to come to his assistance from Stamford. This so exasperated Captain Marine that he attempted to shoot the governor; who, as other symptoms of irritation appeared, kept a guard of fifty Englishmen in constant attendance on his person. In the summer and autumn the Indians killed fifteen of the Dutch; and all the English and Dutch settlers west of Stamford deserted their houses for fear. Among others, the celebrated Mrs. Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, and her family, were murdered by some Indians; who came with professions of peace and friendship. Eighteen persons fell in the same treacherous massacre, including her son-in-law, Mr. Collins, and his family. After breaking up the Dutch settlements in that region, the Indians crossed to Long Island and proceeded in like manner, driving all the people away except the few who were in the fort.

In the midst of these dangers and sufferings, the

Dutch requested of the New-Haven Court 100 soldiers: but this was declined, partly on the ground that their cause might not be just, and partly because each colony was bound to abstain from war. They, however, offered to assist them with provisions in case of need. This war between the Dutch and Indians lasted several years. Captain Underhill had the chief command, and was very active and successful at the head of a company of Dutch and English, from 120 to 150 in number, with whom he destroyed between 400 and 500 Indians.

This state of things, added to the enmity of the Narragansets, kept up a constant alarm, so that in Connecticut, every man able to bear arms was required, while attending church, to be prepared for resistance. In Hartford the bell was rung every morning an hour before day. Even such a state of danger, however, did not forbid the proper attention to the education of the youth, as it is mentioned on the records of Hartford that Mr. Andrews, the teacher of the town school, was paid £16 as his salary.

The year 1644 thus opened with melancholy prospects; and, as England was involved in a civil war, the results of which must prove highly important on this side of the Atlantic, a general monthly fast was proclaimed, to begin on the 4th of January. As the struggle in England was considered as being based on questions of civil and religious freedom, our ancestors sympathized warmly with the opponents of the king, and conformed with them in the observance of fasts and prayers on the same days through the war.

Few, if any, cases have existed in history in which officers have been as long and constantly re-elected as the chief magistrates of Connecticut and New-Haven. Mr. Hayne and Mr. Hopkins were elected governor and deputy-governor alternately as long as they lived: the constitution forbidding any greater regularity. Mr. Eaton was governor till the end of his life, and Mr. Stephen Goodyear generally held the office of lieutenant-governor.

A man from Massachusetts was murdered by the Indians in the spring between Fairfield and Stamford; and when the murderer had been brought bound, to be delivered to men sent to take him, his guards released him, and he escaped. The English then made prisoners of eight or ten Indians, which caused a rising among the savages in that quarter on the 1st of May; and, relying on the promises of four sachems, they released them. About a month afterward, an Indian named Busheag wounded a woman in Stamford with a hammer, in an attempt to kill her, so that she never afterward had her reason. The Indians then assumed a most threatening attitude, and so alarmed the distant and weaker plantations in the west, that it was thought dangerous to travel by land, and they asked and received help from the chief towns. The Indian offender was at length given up, tried at New-Haven, and beheaded. The executioner must have been inexpert, as, in attempting to cut off his head with a falchion or broadsword, he gave not less than eight blows before he could succeed. The Indian, with characteristic hardihood, sat upright till the last.

The expenses which Connecticut and New-

Haven incurred during this war they alone had to pay, because the commissioners had not ordered their defensive measures.

Branford (then called Totoket) was settled this year by some people from Wethersfield (where dissensions still continued), with part of the congregation of Mr. Pierson of Southampton, Long Island, who was chosen pastor of the new town.

The Narraganset Indians were still as hostile as ever against the Mohegans, and the Indians who were under the protection of Massachusetts. That colony, therefore, sent men to aid Uncas in fortifying for his defence. Messages were despatched by the commissioners to say they were sitting at Hartford, and ready to listen to any complaints from them, and to give an impartial judgment. The interpreters sent to the Narragansets were charged to set down in writing, and then to submit to them for correction, the answers returned by the Indians to the questions: Are your designs for war? Will you perform the treaty or not? Promises were also made that, whoever should be sent by the Narragansets, they should be safely restored to their homes. A sachem therefore attended, with several chiefs, and endeavoured to prove that Uncas (who also was present) had received a ransom in part for the life of Miantonomoh, and refused to return it after his death. The commissioners found this to be a false accusation: yet they told the Narragansets that, if they ever should be able to prove it, Uncas should make restitution. The Narragansets then agreed that neither they nor the Nehantics should make war on Un-

cas before the next year's planting season, nor then without giving thirty days' notice to the English.

The Indians then returned; and thus the commissioners, by their moderation, prudence, and humanity, appear to have prevented a threatening Indian war. Before this time intelligence had been received of a dreadful massacre of 200 persons in Virginia, which led to the belief that a general plot had been laid for the destruction of all the colonies.

The aspect of affairs was rendered still more peaceful by the appearance of a number of Indians from Monhauset, on Long Island, and its vicinity. Four sachems came with their chief men to request the commissioners to take them under their protection, saying that they had been tributary to the English ever since the Pequod war. This was agreed to, and a certificate was given them, declaring their good standing and connexion with the colonies.

Both Massachusetts and Mr. Fenwick laid claim to Westfield; and it was resolved that it should be under the jurisdiction of the former until ultimately disposed of: the property of the land, however, was to belong to the proprietors if it should exceed 2000 acres.

On an application from Mr. Shepard for aid to support indigent students at Cambridge College, the commissioners recommended the subject to the general courts; and from that time contributions of grain and provisions were furnished every year from the colonies. A plan was considered for a joint-stock company to trade with the Indians: but, in consequence of the opposition of Massachusetts, it was never adopted. To prevent the

Indians from being supplied with firearms, so dangerous in their hands, all persons were forbidden to sell arms and ammunition to an Indian, on penalty of twenty times the value; and smiths were prohibited from mending guns for Indians. At the same time it was recommended to the courts to forbid the sale of arms and ammunition to the Dutch and French, because they disposed of them to the savages.

Southampton, on Long Island, was taken under the jurisdiction of Connecticut, on the recommendation of the commissioners. It was settled by people from Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1630, who had obtained a tract of land in 1639, on the western end of that island, from Lord Stirling, with the consent of the Indians. The interference of the Dutch, however, compelled them to remove farther eastward; and, with nearly 100 families, they built Southampton, with the Rev. Mr. Pierson for their pastor. They established their own civil government, at the advice of Massachusetts. On the admission of the town into the jurisdiction of Connecticut this year, Mr. Pierson and some of his people removed to Branford, as the change was not agreeable to them.

Mr. Fenwick being willing to place Saybrook fort under the jurisdiction of Connecticut, the governor, deputy-governor, and several other persons were appointed a committee to confer with him: the agreement was made on the 5th of December, 1644, Mr. Fenwick being secured for ten years in the use of all the "housings" (buildings) in the fort, and a certain duty on the corn, biscuit, beaver, and cattle exported from the mouth of the river.

This was confirmed by the commissioners on the 4th of February, 1645, who laid a duty of two-pence a bushel on grain, sixpence a hundred-weight on biscuit, and a small sum on the beaver to be exported from the mouth of the Connecticut for ten years. The entire value of what was thus paid to Mr. Fenwick for the old Connecticut patent was 1600 pounds sterling. The court ordered, on July 19th, that the fortifications should be increased; and a tax of 200 pounds was laid on the plantations to pay the expense. The court also wrote to Mr. Fenwick, requesting him to go to England to get the patent enlarged, and in other ways to promote the interests of the colony.

The restless Narragansets soon began again to invade the territory of Uncas; and, in repeated attacks on his fort,\* led by their sachem Pessacus, they killed and captured numbers, and so annoyed the Mohegans that an extraordinary meeting of the commissioners assembled on the 28th of June, who sent messengers to Narraganset and Mohegan, with the usual proposals to hear their complaints, determine righteously, and give safe conduct. The Narraganset sachems at first listened favourably, but did not accede; and some of them insulted and threatened the messengers, while one told them the war should be continued at all events, and that the English should be shot at their own doors, and their cattle killed and piled in heaps. Mr. Williams wrote to the commissioners from Providence, that the Narragansets were preparing for war against

\* Some remains of this fort may still be seen near the little church on the highest hill in the Mohegan reservation, on the west side of the road between Norwich and New-London.

the colonies, and had already formed a treaty of neutrality with that town and those on Aquidney Island. The commissioners therefore agreed that war was both justifiable and necessary : but chose, before declaring it, to take the advice of the magistrates and elders, and some of the military officers of Massachusetts. Their opinion was unanimous in favour of war. It was therefore determined that the treaty required them to interfere promptly for the defence of Uncas, or he would be destroyed ; and that the fair import of their obligations would justify not merely the defence of Uncas in Mohegan, but the invasion of Narraganset.

The 4th of September was therefore observed as a day of fasting and prayer. Three hundred men were ordered to be raised : one hundred and ninety in Massachusetts, forty in Connecticut, forty in Plymouth, and thirty in New-Haven. Forty men were immediately raised in Massachusetts by impressment, and in three days marched for Mohegan, to take the places of the Connecticut and New-Haven troops who had kept garrison for Uncas. Major Edward Gibbons was appointed to take the chief command when the army should be collected, and Captain Mason in the interim. Major Gibbons was instructed to defend Uncas, and invade and distress the Narragansets, Nehantics, and their confederates ; to offer peace, and make a treaty if possible : but if they should only flee, to build forts in their country, and store in them their corn, &c. The Narragansets had before this sent a present to Governor Winthrop, with a request to have peace with the English, but to be permitted to revenge on Uncas the death of Miantonimoh.



The present was declined, but retained temporarily at the messenger's request ; and Captain Harding, Mr. Wilbore, and Benedict Arnold were sent to tell them they must first give satisfaction for the past and security for the future, and that they would then find the English tender of their blood. Several of their sachems visited Boston ; and, after making some false excuses, being pressed to come to a lasting arrangement, one of them presented a stick to the commissioners, saying they submitted to them the decision of peace and war, and asked what they desired. The reply was, that, for the great expense and trouble which their faithlessness had caused the English, they would be content with the small sum of 2000 fathoms of wampum : but that the canoes and captives taken from Uncas must be restored, their complaints against him should be submitted to the commissioners at the next meeting, peace should be kept by them, and hostages given. The Narragansets and Nehantics were reluctant : but, after the times of payment had been extended, and it had been added that Uncas should restore his captives and canoes, on the 30th of August they signed the treaty, because they knew the army had entered their territory, and that nothing else would save it. Several of the Indians remained, to await the arrival of the children who were designated for permanent hostages ; the English troops were recalled ; and the day appointed as a fast was converted into a thanksgiving-day, in gratitude to the Great Preserver, to whom the colonies so habitually and devoutly looked as the bestower of every benefit. The preservation of peace at this time was an inestimable blessing.

But difficulties again arose with the Dutch. The garrison of the fort at Hartford set at defiance the laws of the colony, and resisted the officers; and Governor Kieft wrote an imperious letter to Governor Eaton, charging the English with encroachments, and threatening war. The commissioners soon addressed him a letter, complaining of his conduct, approving Governor Eaton's answer, in which an offer was made to refer to arbitration in Europe or America, and asserting that they had committed nothing inconsistent with the law of God, the law of nations, or the treaties subsisting between England and Holland. Kieft returned a gasconading answer, threatening war: but the commissioners replied with moderation and dignity.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

Difficulties with Indians.—Injury done to them by supplying them with Ardent Spirits.—Instances of their Perfidy.—Calamities suffered by New-Haven.—Law against the Use of Tobacco in Connecticut.—Ninigrate's artful Conduct.—Mr. Winthrop's Claim.—Saybrook Fort burned.—Settlement of New-London.—Indian War threatened.—An Alliance with Canada proposed.

THIS year was near being marked by the assassination of Governor Hopkins, Governor Haynes, and Mr. Whiting, one of the magistrates of Connecticut. A petty sachem, living on the river's banks, named Sequassen, whom we have before mentioned, appears to have cherished a violent ha-

ted against those gentlemen, on account of the protection they had afforded Uncas ; and he hired Watchibrough, a Waronoke (or Windsor) Indian, to kill them, intending to charge Uncas with the crime, and then to escape with him to the Mohawks. But the Windsor Indian remembered the execution of Busheag at New-Haven, and thought the crime would be punished, or, at least, keep him in fear all his life. He preferred, therefore, to take such a reward as the informers against Busheag had obtained. After he had received several wampum belts, he therefore went to Hartford and made known this plot. But Sequassen was never taken.

The Indians of Windsor were in a very hostile state at this time. They burned a quantity of tar and turpentine, rescued by force one whom the officers had seized, and threatened messengers afterward sent to them : but the commissioners of the United Colonies thought it best only to warn them against future misconduct of the kind.

These acts of hostility may serve as specimens of some of the various modes in which the colonies were long harassed. On their part, the Indians suffered some severe evils from the neighbourhood of the whites, especially through the introduction of spirituous liquors, which were then generally believed by civilized nations to be among the necessities of life, or, at least, highly useful to the health in many cases. They ought to have learned an opposite lesson from observing the experience of the Indians. They were entirely ignorant of all drink except water, and suffered no evil from that which was good ; but, from the moment when they began to drink the "strong waters" which

the Europeans introduced among them, their ruin may be said to have been sealed. In this they erred, and fatally for the Indians and thousands of their own descendants, who after them were hastened to the grave by intemperance. At the same time it may be said, that, by not taking measures to prevent the use of ardent spirits, they left their civil, religious, and literary institutions in extreme danger of overthrow: for intemperance is a deadly enemy of the present as well as of the future welfare of mankind.

Several years after Milford was first settled, the English discovered a party of Mohawks concealed in a swamp about half a mile east from Stratford Ferry, which is still called the Mohawk Swamp. They gave notice to the friendly Indians in their fort, knowing that the enemy's design was to capture it. The friendly Indians were bold enough to rout them and take several prisoners. One of these they exposed to a slow and most distressing death, without the knowledge of the English, as it would seem. They left him in the salt meadows, stripped and bound, to be bitten by the moschetoes, and to die without food and water. He was happily found in that condition by a Mr. Hine, who released him, and, having given him food, enabled him to escape. The Mohawks were much conciliated towards the English by this act of humanity, and, it is said, afterward treated the family of the Hines with particular marks of friendship.

Much has been said of Indian gratitude; and there have been many striking and affecting instances of it recorded in our early as well as our later histories. But, like other races of men, the

Indians are capable of ingratitude and perfidy. Of this the commissioners had melancholy proofs this year, as the Narragansets and Nehantics had not performed any of the stipulations of the treaty ; and, while pretending to give as hostages children of chiefs, they had brought only those of the lowest rank. Besides, they had endeavoured to engage the Mohawks against the colonies by presents and otherwise. To all this the commissioners answered only by remonstrances.

The Dutch and Indians had a bloody battle this year, on Strickland's Plain, in the present town of Horseneck, after which the former with difficulty kept the field.

Some of the most wealthy inhabitants of New-Haven this year began to make arrangements for a voyage to England, expecting, by establishing commerce with their native land, to retrieve the pecuniary losses which they had suffered since they had embarked their estates in the settlement of the colony. They contributed money, built a ship of 150 tons, freighted her, and embarked : but were never heard from again. Among those who were thus lost were Mr. Gregson, Captain Turner, Mr. Lamberton, and five or six leading men of the colony. This loss so far affected the survivors, that the principal men determined to abandon the country, and to remove either to Jamaica or to Ireland, having invitations to go to both. They proposed to settle Galloway as a colony of their own. Providence, however, so directed events that they remained at home, contrary to their wishes, and, although they believed the land of the colony unfavourable to agriculture, their posterity became flourishing farmers.

Tobacco appears to be regarded by many persons, and even by some nations at the present day, as one of the necessaries of life ; and, although it is noxious in every form and in almost every case in which it is used, it forms one of the great articles of commerce between several countries. Yet, up to the period to which we have arrived, it had been almost unknown ; and most judicious men would probably now say that it were well if it had continued so. The law which was passed by the Connecticut Assembly this year, to prevent the use of tobacco from becoming fashionable, was more ridiculed some years ago than it now is, since the injurious influences of that poisonous plant on the health and the mind have become more generally understood. The law forbade any person under twenty years of age, and any one not already accustomed to it, to take tobacco, without having a certificate from a physician recommending it, and a license from the court ; and any one already addicted to it was forbidden to use it, unless removed ten miles from any company, and then more than once a day, under a penalty of sixpence for each offence.

This year power was first given to the soldiers of train-bands to choose their own officers, who were to be commissioned by the court. Saybrook Fort was transferred to Captain Mason by Mr. Fenwick ; and he was appointed to the command of it, and to govern the inhabitants of the town. The county-rate of Saybrook was also appropriated to the repairing of the fortifications.

An extraordinary meeting of the commissioners was held on the 26th of July, to consider the con-

duct of the Narragansets and Nehantics ; and an urgent request was sent to the sachems that they would appear, with a declaration that it would be the last call if neglected. Ninigrate presented himself on the 3d of August, and at first pretended great ignorance of their charges and demands : but, when assured that his former deceit and his former threats were known, he promised, in the name of his companions, to give full satisfaction, and sent for the wampum while he remained as a hostage. As only 100 fathoms were returned instead of 2000, and he pretended that this was owing to his absence, the commissioners released him, saying that if 1000 should not be paid within 20 days, and the rest before planting time, they would blame him instead of Pessacus, whom he charged with the delay.

The General Court of Massachusetts objected to the requisition made on Springfield to pay their part of the money for the purchase of Saybrook Fort. Mr. Hopkins replied for Connecticut with substantial reasons, proposing to submit the subject to the commissioners ; and they decided that Springfield should pay twopence on every bushel of corn going up and down the river, and a penny a pound on beaver-skins, or twenty shillings a hogshead : but, out of respect and tenderness to Massachusetts, it was added that she would be at liberty to show farther reasons. The next year the decision was confirmed.

The Western Nehantic country was claimed at this session of the commissioners by Mr. John Winthrop, son of Governor Winthrop. He brought Mr. Stanton and several Nehantic Indians to prove

that the sachem Sashions had given him a verbal deed of it before the Pequod war: but the commissioners from Connecticut questioned its validity, and it appears never to have been revived.

The accounts of the commissioners were settled this year: they had expended £1043 10*s.* Connecticut had exceeded her due proportion in expenses for general defence by £155 17*s.* 7*d.*, and New-Haven £7. The expense of defending Stamford and its vicinity, and that of bringing the murderers to punishment, was not included.

A new Dutch governor (Peter Stuyvesandt) arrived at Manahadoes on the 27th of May; and a letter of congratulation was addressed to him by the commissioners, in which they complained of the Dutch for supplying the Indians with arms and ammunition, and the high duties laid on goods, while the ports of the English colonies were free.

Saybrook Fort and its buildings were burned by accident in the winter, and Captain Mason, his wife, and child narrowly escaped. The loss was estimated at above £1000.

The settlement of New-London (Nameaug or Towawog) was commenced in 1646: but the number of persons was small, and some of them soon became discouraged and left the place. In 1647, however, a considerable number of permanent settlers came, in consequence of the arrival of Mr. Richard Blinman from Gloucester, who had been a minister in England. Some of the principal men were John Winthrop, Esq., Thomas Minot, Samuel Lothrop, Robert Allyn, and James Avery. Mr. Winthrop was authorized to superintend the colony, which was exempted from taxa-



tion for three years; and the next year he and Messrs. Minot and Lothrop were appointed judges of a court for small causes. The name of Pequod Harbour was conferred in 1754, when it embraced the present towns of New-London and Groton; and, four years after, the name of New-London was given, when the Mohegan River was called the Thames.

This year the governor and deputy-governor of Connecticut were first paid for their services, receiving £30 a year. Before that time all the civil officers appear to have served without reward, and from a sense of duty. Mr. Hopkins was chosen governor, and Mr. Ludlow deputy-governor.

The Indians caused a most serious alarm this season: for the Narragansets and Nehantics once more withheld their stipulated wampum from the English, and used it to hire the Mohawks and Pocomptucks to join them in a powerful assault on Uncas. Thomas Stanton was sent, with other men, by the governor and council to Pocomptuck, and found the Indians in arms waiting for the Mohawks, bringing 400 muskets, with whom they were to march for Mohegan, there to combine with 800 Narragansets and Nehantics. They admitted that they had been hired: but, as the Mohawks did not come, in consequence of having lost men in a battle with the French at the North, and the messengers declared that the English would fight to the last in the defence of Uncas, they at length abandoned their enterprise. It was found, on the other hand, that the Indians who had enlisted them had placed their women, children, and old men in swamps in their own country, and were ready to march, having insulted and robbed a num-

ber of the English inhabitants, particularly in Warwick, where they killed about 100 cattle. The Rhode Islanders, indeed, were constrained by their danger to request the commissioners to be admitted into their confederacy: but were refused, unless they would join with Plymouth, in whose territory they were regarded as lying. The commissioners, still reluctant to resort to force, remonstrated with the Indians.

Governor Stuyvesandt in the mean time had returned no answer to the request and inquiries made by the commissioners: but, on the contrary, seized at Manahadoes a vessel of Mr. Westerhouse (a Dutch merchant and planter residing at New-Haven) without reasonable ground. The commissioners therefore addressed him another letter, protesting against the Dutch claim to all the coast from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod, &c., and declaring that, unless they should receive more satisfactory replies and conduct from him, they would treat Dutchmen and their vessels as the English were treated at Manahadoes.

The New-England colonies this year made a proposal to the governor and council of Canada to form a perpetual peace, to be uninterrupted by the dissensions between the parent countries. The governor of Canada sent a Jesuit priest to Boston, expressing his willingness to comply, on condition that the New-England colonies would join in a war against the Six Nations of Indians: but, as this was refused, on the ground that they had no just reason for such a war, the project failed. Had the French governor not insisted on that condition, the proposed step would have saved incalculable losses to both parties.

## CHAPTER XIV.

**Murder of Mr. Whitmore.**—A new Fort built at Saybrook.—  
**The Code of Laws.**—Uncas complains to the Commissioners against the Narragansets and Pequods.—Massachusetts lays an Impost on vessels and goods of the other Colonies.—  
**Restrictions on Indian Traders.**—Captain Atherton's visit to Narraganset and Nehantic.—Lands given to Captain Mason.

MR. JOHN WHITMORE, a representative in the General Court of New-Haven, was murdered at Stamford, where he lived, while searching for cattle in the woods. An Indian, the son of a sachem, brought in a report of his death, which he charged on Toquattoes. His body was sought for in vain until that Indian led the way to the spot; and it was very evident that he was one of the murderers: but he made his escape.

It was determined that another fort should be built at Saybrook, on New Fort Hill, which is said to be that small eminence on which the remains of the last fort are still to be seen. This spot is reported by tradition to be a little farther west than the site of the first, which has been worn away by the waves. Money was appropriated by the court, and men were to be impressed to do the work. The practice of impressment, which had been derived from England, was not quite abandoned at that time.

A code of laws for the colony was established this year, having been digested by Mr. Ludlow. Punishments had before been various and uncer-

tain. A jury of twelve men was required, who, if doubtful about the law, were to bring in a "non liquet," or special verdict, and the court was to declare the law. The court might empanel a new jury after several trials, if they thought they had mistaken the law; and increase or diminish damages. Twelve able and unanimous jurors were required in cases of life, limb, and banishment.

This year an important measure was taken in England, the effects of which were of an interesting nature. This was the formation of the Society for propagating the Gospel in New-England. This association was formed through the influence of Mr. Edward Winslow. After publishing in England accounts of the success of the celebrated Eliot (called the Apostle to the Indians) and some of his collaborators, much interest was excited, and an act of Parliament passed. The society was to consist of sixteen persons, who could hold property not exceeding in value £200 a year, and goods and money without restriction. The commissioners of the United Colonies of New-England were to receive and dispose of the money for preaching and propagating the Gospel among the natives, and for the maintaining of schools and nurseries of learning for the education of the children of natives.

Uncas, who had wonderfully escaped so many plots as were laid against him, had been assailed again at an unprepared moment, and had barely escaped with his life. He presented himself before the commissioners to make his complaint against his enemies for a new act of perfidy. He alleged

that neither the captives nor the canoes which they had taken from him had been returned; and he exhibited the marks of a dangerous wound, charging the sachems of the Narragansets and the Nehantics with having hired the Mohawks and the assassin who had inflicted it. While on board of a vessel in the Mohegan or Thames River, an Indian had run him through the breast with a sword, leaving so severe a wound that it was thought for a time he would die. He declared that he had always been a faithful friend of the English, and prayed that he might have justice, and be secured for the future. The presence of that noble-looking savage, with his athletic figure, the high character for faithfulness which he had so fully established, and the appeal he made for vengeance and protection, must have made a strong impression on the assembly; and the evidence which was furnished of the truth of his declarations was well calculated to increase it. The wily Ninigret underwent an examination before the commissioners, and was met with unanswerable proof of his perfidy: for the assassin confessed that he had been hired by him and Pessacus to kill Uncas; and evidence was furnished to prove that the Mohawks had acknowledged they also had been paid to destroy him. He was therefore dismissed, with an assurance that it would be unsafe for him longer to delay the fulfilment of his promises.

A report was circulated through the colonies about this time, which increased the general alarm as it led to the apprehension that the Narragansets and Nehantics intended to restore the nation of the Pequods: for it was rumoured that the son of Sas-

sacus, or one of his brothers, was to be married to the daughter of Ninigret; and the Pequods who had been given to Uncas had revolted, and lived separately for two years. All these things seemed to indicate that an Indian war was ready to break out; and the commissioners thought that preparations ought to be made for any emergency.

They, however, listened to the complaints of Uncas's Pequods; and it was found that they had heavy charges to make against him, which they substantiated. How much soever we may wish to indulge gratitude, respect, or admiration towards Uncas, we sometimes meet with facts in his history which put a strong check upon us. The great truth we are indeed often compelled to recall: that he was, after all, ignorant of the true God, and therefore necessarily ignorant of the first principles of virtue. The poor Pequods, being admitted to the presence of the commissioners, and finding that they were allowed an attentive and impartial hearing, stated that they had begun by serving Uncas faithfully, according to their promise, had been regarded as his men, assisted him in his wars, and paid him tribute: but that he had been exceedingly extortionate, and made them pay him wampum forty times. They said that he had once promised to treat them as Mohegans: but they had since been ill-treated in their plays and in other ways, and plundered, and even wounded by Uncas. Obachikquid, one of their chief men, declared that Uncas had taken his wife from him.

These charges, with the accompanying testimony, must have mortified the Mohegan sachem; and the commissioners, with decision and firmness

highly becoming them, ordered that he should be reprov'd, restore the wife of Obachickquid, pay the Pequods damages, and be fined 100 fathoms of wampum. However, as Connecticut had determined never to allow the Pequods to be a nation again, they directed that he should receive them back, and treat them with moderation in all respects. This humiliation, it seems, they were extremely loath to submit to ; and, instead of obeying the decree of the commissioners, they withdrew from Uncas, and year after year sent in a petition requesting to be made the subjects of the whites. Their plea had too much appearance of reason in it to be entirely rejected. They alleged that, although their tribe had done wrong, they had killed none of the colonists ; and that Wequash had promised them, when sent by the whites, that they should suffer no injury if they would leave their country and not injure the English. The commissioners, therefore, to proceed as far as they felt at liberty to do, recommended to Connecticut to give them land to cultivate and live on, where they might be removed from the Mohegans, though still under the control of Uncas, repeating their injunction to him to treat them kindly.

Mr. Westerhouse applied for permission to make reprisals on the Dutch, by seizing some of their vessels in return for his which they had taken, as he had not been able to obtain any satisfaction from them : but the commissioners chose to negotiate before resorting to any such measure. They therefore resolved that no resident or foreigner should trade with Indians in their jurisdiction, under penalty of the confiscation of vessels and goods ;

and wrote to the Dutch governor to give him information of it, and of their adherence to the claim of Delaware. They added that they had greatly desired to make an accommodation of all difficulties with the Dutch, and that it might easily have been effected if he had accepted of their invitation to attend a meeting of the commissioners.

The question of the boundary-line between Massachusetts and Connecticut was discussed at length, and settled in favour of Connecticut, so that Springfield was decided to belong to that colony. The Massachusetts commissioners, when this was determined, produced an order of their General Court, imposing a duty on all goods belonging to any inhabitants of Plymouth, Connecticut, or New-Haven, imported within the Castle in Boston Harbour, or exported from any part of the bay. This act, which appears to have been dictated by an unbecoming spirit, was remonstrated against by the commissioners of the three aggrieved colonies in a calm but manly tone, concluding with these words: "How far the premises agree with the law of love, and with the tenour and import of the articles of confederation, the commissioners tender and recommend to the serious attention of the General Court for the Massachusetts; and, in the mean time, desire to be spared in all future agitations respecting Springfield."

Connecticut also complained of Massachusetts for running their boundary-line six or eight miles too far south, so as to include a whole range of towns not belonging to her. The commissioners adopted the opinion that the line had not been fixed. The question, however, remained unsettled



for nearly seventy years, and during that time Connecticut was encroached upon, and several whole towns were settled in her territory by Massachusetts.

The General Court of Connecticut declared that all foreign vessels found trading with the Indians should be forfeited, with their goods, according to the recommendation of the commissioners. The court also ordered out fifty men, to assist in measures against the murderers of John Whitmore, of Stamford; and this is the last intimation we have of trouble from the Indians in that town.

The General Court, which met in May at Hartford, gave to Captain Mason Chippachange Island in Mystic Bay, and 110 acres of land in Mystic; and ordered that 500 acres of land, which had been granted to his five best officers and soldiers, should be laid out at Pequod or in the Neanticut country. Five hundred acres besides had been given to the captain the year before.

The commissioners sent Captain Atherton, of Massachusetts, with forty men, to the Narraganset country, to demand the tribute due, with orders to take that in property, the sachem Pessacus, or his children. The Indians made excuses as usual, and many began to assemble, when Atherton entered the hut of Pessacus, drew him out by his hair, and threatened to shoot any one who should interfere. The chiefs who were present were intimidated, and the tribute was paid. Atherton then visited Ninigrate, the Nehantic sachem, forbade him to seize any of the Pequod country, and even to hunt in it; told him his designs were known, and that the colonies would not suffer him to prosecute them.

## CHAPTER XV.

Governor Stuyvesandt meets the Commissioners at Hartford, and the Difficulties with the Dutch are settled by Arbitration.—A new Arrangement with Mr. Fenwick.—Mining Privileges granted to Mr. Winthrop.—Norwalk incorporated and Middletown settled.—Governor Stuyvesandt's unfriendly Conduct.—Arrangements with the Pequods.

THE Dutch governor visited Hartford during the session of the commissioners, after having been often invited. He chose to communicate with them in writing, and, on the 13th of September, complained, in a letter, of encroachments on the West India Company, said the Dutch had purchased of the Indians the lands on the river before the English arrived, demanded the possession of them, objected to the law prohibiting trade with the Indians, and offered to settle a provisional line. The commissioners replied, that the Dutch claim was so indefinite and changeable that they did not understand it, but that they might be willing to repeal the law objected to. They complained of the misconduct of the Dutch in the fort at Hartford: their agents having left debts unpaid, the men having assisted criminals to escape from the prison, &c. After some altercation, the differences were arranged by arbitrators: viz., Mr. Bradstreet, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Prince, of Plymouth, on the part of the colonies, and Mr. Thomas Willet and Mr. George Baxter on the part of the Dutch.

They drew up articles of agreement, dated at

Hartford on the 19th of September, 1650, in which most subjects of complaint against the Dutch were deferred to the consideration of the States and company in Holland, as having arisen under the government of Kieft: Governor Stuyvesandt declining to answer them. The claims of New-Haven for land purchased of the Indians on Delaware Bay, and for damages done their trade by the Dutch, were deferred for the decision of Holland and England, for want of sufficient information; and the parties were urged to conduct all things in love and peace. On an explanation by Governor Stuyvesandt, declaring a mistake made by his secretary, the subject of the claim of the Dutch to New-Haven, which had been erroneously reported, was passed over. They agreed to run a line on Long Island between the English and Dutch settlements, from the eastern part of Oyster Bay straight to the sea. They also made the line between them, on the main land, to extend from the west side of Greenwich Bay (in the southwestern corner of the present State of Connecticut), twenty miles north, to be extended by the Dutch and New-Haven colony, provided the line should not come within ten miles of Hudson's River. The Dutch were not to build within six miles of the line, and Greenwich was to remain for the present under the Dutch. The land at Hartford then actually in possession of the Dutch was allowed to them, and all else to Connecticut.

It was agreed that the rule respecting the delivering of fugitives, established between the colonies, should be observed between them and the Dutch. Governor Stuyvesandt and his agents (Messrs. Willet and Baxter) promised to give back Greenwich to

**New-Haven.** He informed the commissioners that he had directions from Holland to cultivate friendship with the colonies, and proposed to form an intimate union: but this was declined until the will of the colonies should be known.

Difficulties, however, arose about the payment of the stipulated sums to Mr. Fenwick, and a new agreement was made with him, according to which £180 was to be paid annually for ten years, besides several sums from different towns, and an impost on beaver-skins, so that the whole amount paid for ordnance, arms, and stores at the fort, and the right of jurisdiction, was above £2000. Committees from the towns met at Saybrook on the 5th of February, 1651, to hear an explanation of the agreements, by which the inhabitants obtained satisfactory information on the subject.

The General Court recommended to the commissioners to consider the conduct of Rhode Island in receiving fugitive criminals. A Dutch vessel, commanded by Augustus Harriman, was seized this year at Saybrook for trading with the Indians, and confiscated with the cargo, while he was fined £40.

John Winthrop, Esq., at this early period having hopes of discovering mines, was authorized by the Assembly to possess any mines or salt-springs which he might discover and work, together with the land around them to a distance of two or three miles, if not within any town then settled.

The eastern and middle parts of Norwalk had been purchased ten years, but, as yet, contained few inhabitants. The western part was bought in 1650, on the petition of Nathan Ely and Richard

Olmstead, and the court named it and gave permission for its settlement.

Middletown was settled by families from England, Hartford, and Wethersfield about this time. Most of them went from Hartford. Numbers soon came from Woburn, Rowley, and Chelmsford, in Massachusetts. It was called by the Indian name, Mattabeseck, until 1653. There were only fifty-three householders in the town twenty years later.

Governor Stuyvesandt soon gave the people of New-Haven reason to change their opinion of him: for he seized and imprisoned a party from that colony who were on their way by sea to settle on Delaware Bay, and made them relinquish their design. He also forbade some of the people of Southampton to remove their property within their line. The commissioners, who met that year at New-Haven, addressed a protest to him, charging him with violating his agreement, and declaring their intention of sending 100 men or more to Delaware, to protect settlers on the land owned by New-Haven.

The commissioners now ordered Captain Mason to require of the Pequods the tribute of wampum which they had agreed to pay annually on their submission in 1638; and Uncas came to Hartford to arrange the difficulty, accompanied by some of Ninigrate's men. It was agreed that past dues should be given up, and that, after the payment of the tribute for the next ten years, no more should ever be required of them. The Pequods showed their satisfaction with this arrangement by their subsequent faithfulness in peace and war.

The celebrated minister John Eliot, commonly

called the Apostle to the Indians, began his benevolent and successful labours among the natives in 1646 as a missionary, under the patronage of the legislature of Massachusetts, who in that year passed an act for the encouragement of the Gospel among the savages. He afterward visited Hartford during the meeting of the General Assembly, when they invited the Podunk Indians to hear that excellent man explain the Christian religion in their own language. Numbers of them went from East Windsor to hear him : but, after listening to a long address, when they were asked to determine whether they would receive the Gospel or not, the chief men replied that they had no wish to change the customs of their fathers ; and the tribe remained in their original heathen state.

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## CHAPTER XVI. 1651-1652.

The Navigation Act passed by Parliament to restrict the Commerce of the Colonies.—Disregarded.—Commissioners from Canada to invite the Colonies to join them in War with the Five Nations.—The Proposal declined.—In consequence of the War between England and Holland, Governor Stuyvesandt assumes a hostile Attitude.—Apprehensions of the Colony from Dutch Intrigues with the Indians.—Explanations demanded by the Commissioners, but not made.—Troops ordered to be raised, and War declared.—Massachusetts refuses to approve and to sustain the War.—The other Colonies protest.—The Commissioners declare War against Ninigrate, Sachem of Nehantic.—A Dutch Fleet expected.—It fails to arrive.

In 1651 the Navigation Act was passed by the British Parliament, forbidding anything to be exported from the colonies to any place out of the

English possessions. New-England would not submit to this law, denying the right of Great Britain to restrict her trade ; and the commerce of the Eastern colonies continued free with different parts of the world. The English complained, but never seriously attempted to suppress it.

Two petitioners of an uncommon description presented themselves before the commissioners this year. They were French Jesuits of good address from Canada, who had come to engage the colonies in a war against the Mohawks. Their names were Godfroy and Gabriel Druillets, and they came with commissions from the governor of Canada and the council of New-France. They requested that, in case the colonies should not engage in the war, volunteers might be enlisted and sent, and that the Acadians might be taken under their protection, promising a liberal reward from the French government, and an arrangement for free trade with Canada.

The commissioners declined the proposals, expressing their compassion for the Acadians, but saying that they should expose many of their friendly Indians by engaging in the war, and that some of them professed to be Christians. They stated that the Mohawks had treated them well in the Pequod war ; and that, although they wished to treat the Canadians in a friendly manner, they could not even permit the proposed enlistments. They then urged objections to the trade in fire-arms and ammunition which was carried on by the French.

Captain Mason was about to accept of an offer from some of the people of New-Haven, to become

governor of a colony which they proposed to form on Delaware Bay : but the General Court of Connecticut prevented him, and the enterprise failed. The first grand list of Connecticut was made out, and embraced seven towns, amounting to £75,492 10s. 6d.

The people were under serious apprehensions in the year 1652, on account of dangers both at home and abroad. The Dutch and English had become involved in a war in 1651, and there were symptoms of a general war with the Indians. Saybrook Fort was strengthened, and the families were ordered to retire to it, while all Indians who would not give up their arms were regarded as enemies. Governor Stuyvesandt assumed an unfriendly and contemptuous tone, revived his renounced claims, and tried to hire Indians to destroy the English. On the discovery of this, an extraordinary meeting of the commissioners took place in April. Strange as it may seem, after the friendly arrangements he had made and proposed, it was too clearly proved that he had visited the western Indians beyond Hudson River, and urged them to join him against the English ; that he had had Ninigrate with him, and sent him home in a sloop, with arms and ammunition ; and that many tribes in different parts of the country had received invitations from him. Such, however, are the unrighteous principles of war, which civilized and Christian nations have too often adopted. They allow falsehood in negotiations and the most detestable plots for the destruction of enemies. He, no doubt, had received orders from Holland, on the declaration of the war with England, to distress the English colonies to



his utmost, in order to gain some advantage in the contest. From similar causes, the colonies suffered severely in the subsequent wars of England, especially with France; and it would be extremely unfair to charge either upon them or upon the Indians the chief blame for the conflicts in which the colonies were engaged with the savage tribes around them. Had they not been involved by disputes not their own, judging from the scrupulous Christian policy which they generally displayed, and the success they had begun to experience, the Indians would probably have become Christianized and civilized, and the country saved from a thousand calamities which we must hereafter relate.

It was reported that a general massacre was to be made in all the towns on election day, when many of the men were commonly absent from home. This put the people on so close and constant a watch, that labour was greatly interrupted; and, although Governor Stuyvesandt wrote, denying the charges against him, and offered to go to Boston, or to receive agents at Manahadoes to prove his innocence, other letters confirmed the reports, and six of the commissioners were in favour of an immediate declaration of war against the Dutch. Agents were sent, and Stuyvesandt then refused to submit to any examination except such as his two agents should consent to; and they were men who had been complained of at Hartford for ill conduct, and one of whom had been put under bonds for criminal conduct. With these the agents of the commissioners would not confer, but returned after protesting.

In the mean time, the commissioners had order-

ed 500 men to be raised, under the command of Captain Leverett, and that the commissioners should meet at New-Haven in case of war.

Another meeting of the commissioners was held, when the evidence against the Dutch appeared so much strengthened, the representations of Captain Underhill (who was still in their service) were so strong, and the conduct of Stuyvesandt so equivocal, that war was declared with unanimity, except Mr. Bradstreet, of Massachusetts. His colony still expressed great unwillingness to engage in hostilities; and the General Court, in violation of the articles of union, refused to join the other colonies in the contest, and declared that the commissioners could not bind them to engage in a war against their convictions. After much deliberation, the commissioners dissolved; on which Governor Haynes called a special court on the 25th of June, which led to another meeting of the commissioners at Boston on the 11th of September.

The Massachusetts commissioners then proposed to drop the subject: but the others persisted, and agreed to return home, protesting against Massachusetts. This led the General Court of that colony to write a professed retraction, though in equivocal language. The commissioners then proceeded to declare war against Ninigrate, sachem of the Nehantics, on account of his violation of all his promises, his refusal to explain his conduct, and his endeavour to kindle a war. They also declared war against the Dutch. But Mr. Bradstreet opposed his associates in both these measures; and Massachusetts refused to bear any share of the expense.

The General Courts of Connecticut and New-Haven soon met, and agreed to address the Lord Protector (Cromwell) for assistance to reduce or drive away the Dutch ; and Mr. Hopkins, who was then in England, was requested to aid Captain Astwood, whom they appointed their agent.

For defence, a guard was sent to Stamford, then on the frontier ; and New-Haven sent a vessel of ten or twelve guns, which was called a frigate, to cruise in the Sound, and keep the Nehantics at home. It was known that the Dutch were in constant expectation of a fleet from Holland ; and the colonists were in the greatest anxiety, fearing that a general rising of the Indians was to be made on its appearance. But the successes of the English fleets against Holland disappointed Governor Stuyvesandt of his re-enforcement ; and the Indians could not be combined against the colonies, so that Providence averted the evils which long hung over them. But other troubles soon arose. The frontier towns blamed the governments of New-Haven and Connecticut for delaying to invade the Dutch territory ; and the town of Fairfield determined to begin the war themselves, and appointed Mr. Ludlow to the office of commander-in-chief, which he accepted. This rebellion was suppressed by remonstrance, though with difficulty ; and the leaders of it, named Basset and Chapman, were punished.

## CHAPTER XVII.

**Death of Governor Haynes.**—The Dutch House at Hartford seized, according to Orders from England.—Connecticut and New-Haven having petitioned Cromwell for Aid against the Dutch, four Ships of War arrive at Boston.—Peace between England and Holland.—Massachusetts reconciled.—Trouble with Ninigrate.—The Pequods taken under the Care of the Assembly in 1655.—The New-Haven Code of Laws.—Death of Mr. Wolcott.—Proposals from Cromwell and Stuyvesant.—Indian Disturbances.—Death of Governor Eaton.

IN the year 1654, the people of Connecticut suffered a great loss by the death of the man who had been the principal in its settlement and government. This was Governor Haynes, who was considered as second to no man in New-England. He had left Copford Hall, his seat in Essex, England, to dwell in America, though his income was worth £1000 a year. He resided for a time at Cambridge with the Rev. Mr. Hooker, and was chosen governor of Massachusetts. He came to New-England two years after the landing at Plymouth, and accompanied Mr. Hooker to Hartford. Trumbull says, he appeared to be a gentleman of eminent piety, strict morals, and sound judgment. He paid attention to family government, instruction, and religion. His great integrity and wise management of all affairs, in private and public, so raised and fixed his character in the esteem of the people, that they always, when the constitution would permit, placed him in the chief seat of government, and continued him in it until his death.

Orders were received from the English Parliament in the spring to treat the Dutch as enemies; and the Dutch house and lands in Hartford were accordingly taken by the colony. A fast was observed for the various public calamities. Mr. Ludlow, who had been deputy-governor of Massachusetts and Connecticut, removed to Virginia this year, probably on account of his hasty acceptance of an insurrectionary office at Fairfield. He was then clerk of that town, and carried the records with him. He was skilled in the principles of law, and had rendered much service in forming the Constitution of Connecticut, and compiling the code of the colony, which was printed at Cambridge in 1672.

Mr. Hopkins was chosen governor during his absence in England, and Mr. Wells deputy-governor.

The whole number of rateable persons in Connecticut this year was 775, and the grand list £79,073. Of this amount Hartford had 177 persons and £19,609; Windsor, 165 and £15,833; Wethersfield, 113 and £12,602; Fairfield, 94 and £8634; Saybrook, 53 and £4437; Stratford, 72 and £7958; Farmington, 46 and £5519; Middletown, 31 and £2172; and Norwalk, 24 and £2309.

About the beginning of the summer months the colonies were cheered by the unusual sight of three or four ships arriving at Boston from England with troops for their aid. These had been sent by Cromwell in reply to their petition, with Major Sedgwick and Captain Leveret. Massachusetts allowed men to be enlisted in her territory, although she still refused to go farther in the intended war

against the Dutch : but Connecticut and New-Haven sent commissioners to Boston, authorized to offer large contributions of men and provisions. Eight hundred men were to be collected in all. Happily, the news of peace arrived in season to prevent things from proceeding any farther, the defeat of Admiral Van Tromp having led to this result.

Massachusetts now began to ask for the re-establishment of the union of the colonies, which her conduct was considered as having destroyed. Her court appointed commissioners as usual, and proposed that their meetings should be resumed. The other colonies consented, on the understanding that the past should be forgotten, and the combination firmly settled for the future.

Ninigrate, having a design against the Long Island Indians, hired the Mohawks, Pocomtocks, and Wampanoags (a tribe of Narragansets) to aid in their destruction : but Major Mason was despatched with troops, and Lieutenant Seely from New-Haven, to join him at Saybrook. They took a supply of ammunition for the Island Indians, to be used only in defence ; and they had been instructed to avoid bloodshed if possible, in case Ninigrate should appear, but to defend the friendly Indians, if necessary.

On the 7th of September the commissioners met at Hartford, and sent to Ninigrate to appear before them. He returned answer by Mr. Jonathan Gilbert that he had done no harm, and only wished to punish the Long Island Indians for killing a son of one of his sachems and sixty of his men. The Indians from the interior, whose assembling in the

Narraganset country had caused so much uneasiness, had come, he said, as his allies, to assist him against the Long Islanders ; and as to the tribute demanded for his Pequods, he pretended ignorance of the demand. The commissioners then ordered that 40 horsemen and 150 footmen should be immediately raised by Massachusetts, 45 by Connecticut, and 31 by New-Haven ; and that, without delay, 20 horsemen and 40 footmen should march into the Narraganset country. Major Gibbons, Major Denison, and Captain Atherton were nominated, that Massachusetts might select a commander-in-chief from those three men of known ability : but the General Court preferred Major Willard. The commissioners ordered him to march to Ninigrate's residence, and demand his Pequods and the tribute due for them ; and to subdue him in case of his refusing.

The troops found he had retired into a swamp, and might have destroyed the wigwams and corn : but they returned without doing anything, their commander saying that his instructions were equivocal, and the season was too far advanced. About 100 Pequods deserted to the English. It appears that Major Willard was appointed by Massachusetts that he might prevent bloodshed if possible : but he was considered as having greatly increased the evils of war, and caused the destruction which soon after ensued. This conduct of Massachusetts it is as difficult to justify as that of which complaint had been made the past year. Their motive appears to have been to preserve peace ; and this we cannot too highly admire. They may have acted under a different view of things, or with different

evidence before them : but the course they pursued was certainly unjustifiable, as it was an insincere one.

The General Court took the Pequods under their jurisdiction in 1655, after their repeated requests ; and they were afterward furnished with land on Pawcatuck and Mystic rivers, where they were collected under an Indian governor appointed by the court. Permission was given them to hunt on the land west of the Mystic. The court then passed laws for them, requiring them to pay the tribute stipulated after the Pequod war to their governors, and engage in no offensive war without the consent of the court ; making blasphemy, murder, witchcraft, and conspiracy against the colonies capital crimes ; and laying penalties for Sabbath-breaking, adultery, and drunkenness. A thief was to pay double the amount stolen.

And now Ninigrate, imboldened by the absence of force, sent across the Sound, and so closely pressed the Indians and English on Long Island, that the most urgent appeals were received in Connecticut for immediate relief. Captain John Youngs was therefore hastened off with an armed vessel, to cut off communication between Neanticut and Long Island, and to draught men from Saybrook and Long Island. Word was also sent to the towns on Long Island, and to the sachem of the Montauket Indians, with supplies ; and the Narragansets were informed of the preparations made against them.

A code of laws for New-Haven was drawn up by Governor Eaton, at the request of the General Court ; and 500 copies were printed in England,



under the charge of Governor Hopkins, for distribution in the colony. The expense was defrayed by Governor Hopkins, who sent at the same time a collection of valuable books as a present.

There was an iron furnace in East-Haven as early as 1655. The place was then called Stony River; and bog ore was brought from North-Haven. It was continued in operation until 1680. The first iron-works in Massachusetts, and probably in New-England, were established in 1645, at Lynn.

This year occurred the death of Henry Wolcott, Esq., who came to America in 1630, having sold his estate in Somersetshire, in England, for £8000, on account of the persecutions to which the Puritans were exposed. He at first settled at Dorchester, Massachusetts, with Mr. Warham, and in 1636 was one of the first settlers of Windsor. He was one of the magistrates from 1643 till he died; and there was always one of his descendants in the magistracy until 1754.

The first troop of horse in any part of Connecticut was raised by the colony of New-Haven in 1656, when sixteen horsemen were required of the five towns on the coast. They were allowed the privilege of freedom from taxation, and were not to be trained with the footmen. Common soldiers were ordered to practise firing, and broadsword and cudgel exercise.

This year an urgent invitation was sent to the colonies by the Lord Protector of England, Oliver Cromwell, to send the people to Jamaica, which had been obtained by conquest: but it was declined.

Governor Stuyvesandt addressed to the commis-

sioners a proposal to receive the Dutch colony into their union, congratulating them on the happy termination of the war in Europe: but they did not encourage his advances, as they did not rate his sincerity very highly, and regarded the Dutch as intruders in a part of America to which the English had a rightful claim. They, however, requested from him reparation for past damages, and specific explanations of his intentions with respect to the jurisdiction of Greenwich and Oyster Bay. The former place was in a state of misrule; and the court of New-Haven resolved, that if the inhabitants should not appear and submit to them before the 25th of June, Richard Crab and other principal favourers of drunkenness and runaways should be arrested and punished. This brought them to terms.

The excitement among the Indians appears to have affected all the tribes. Even Uncas partook of the spirit. He attacked the Podunk Indians in the eastern part of Hartford (now East-Hartford or East-Windsor); and he or his brother fell upon the Norwootucks. He also challenged the Narragansets, and yet joined Ninigrate against the Montaukets, whom he deceived. The commissioners required him to make restitution to those he had injured, and forbade him to make war without their advice. A dreadful murder was committed at Fairfield by an Indian named Mesapano, probably aided by the Norwootucks and Pocomtucks; and the Montaukets, for whom the English had done so much, when they found themselves relieved from danger, turned upon their white neighbours and did them much damage, so

that Major Mason was sent to Long Island. The various tribes were this year at war with each other, and sometimes Indians would rush into English houses, pursued by their enemies, who would often kill them before the eyes of the families. The Narragansets invaded Mohegan, and Connecticut was obliged to send relief to Uncas. They also plundered some of the colonists. The commissioners forbade the Indians to continue their wars, and offered to arbitrate between them.

This year New-Haven suffered a severe loss by the death of Governor Eaton. He was a native of Stony Stratford, in Oxfordshire, England, the son of a minister, educated as an East India merchant, and successively deputy-governor of the East India Company, and agent of the king at the Danish court. In consequence of the bloody persecutions of Bishop Laud, he emigrated to New-England with his pastor, Mr. Davenport, and was annually elected governor of New-Haven from its settlement until his death. The colony paid his funeral expenses and erected a monument to his memory. He observed the plain and pious habits of the best men of his time in the strict government of his family, which sometimes consisted of thirty persons, praying and reading the Scriptures with them every morning and evening, and instructing them an hour or two on the Sabbath, praying and singing with them.

His son-in-law, Governor Hopkins, died about the same time. He much resembled him in character and habits, particularly in his strict observance of family and secret devotions. While on a visit to England, he was appointed first warden of

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the fleet in place of his brother, deceased, and afterward commissioner of the admiralty and navy, and member of parliament, which prevented him from returning. He was distinguished for charity to the poor, and left several liberal legacies, and a large sum for the education of "hopeful youths in a way of learning, both at the grammar-school and college, for the public service of the country in future times." This was the foundation of the grammar-schools at New-Haven, Hartford, and Hadley, which continue to this day.

A question having arisen whether baptism ought not to be conferred on a larger proportion of the children, the magistrates of Connecticut sent several of their number to confer with those of Massachusetts. In 1678, the difference of opinion on this subject had become so great, that a number of members of the churches of Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor determined to form settlements higher up the river. They separated themselves in a peaceable and orderly manner, and founded the towns of Northampton and Hadley in Massachusetts.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

The first Troop of Horse in Connecticut Colony.—Governor Wells.—Governor Newman, of New-Haven.—Uncas.—Grand Juries established in the Towns.—Uncas's Grant to Major Mason.—Arrival of Goffe and Whalley, two of the regicide Judges of Charles I.—Their favourable Reception.—Sent for by Charles II.—Secreted at New-Haven.

A TROOP of horse was raised in 1658, which was the first ever formed within the territory of the present state of Connecticut.

Thomas Wells was chosen governor of Connecticut, and John Winthrop deputy-governor. There were 16 magistrates and 26 deputies. At New-Haven, Mr. Francis Newman was made governor, and William Leet deputy-governor.

Stonington was settled this year, under the name of Pawcatuck. The territory being claimed by Massachusetts as well as Connecticut, the settlers determined peaceably to govern themselves until the jurisdiction should be settled. The commissioners decided that Mystic River should be the boundary, and set off Southerton to Massachusetts.

The colonies suffered this year from fear of the Indians, poor harvests, uncommon mortality, and religious controversies, so that great wisdom was required of the commissioners.

In 1659, Setauket, or Cromwell Bay, on Long Island, was admitted under the jurisdiction of Connecticut.

In 1660, the freemen annulled the law forbidding the annual election of the same person as governor.

Norwich was first settled in the spring of this year, by the Rev. James Fitch, of Saybrook, and most of his congregation, with some others. Uncas continued to be very serviceable, as his people often were after his death, chiefly by furnishing scouts in war. Not long after the settlement of Norwich, the Narragansets repeatedly appeared ready to fall upon the helpless little town; and, in times of alarm, the Mohegans would remove their wigwams near to it.

Grand jurors were this year ordered to be appointed in every town, and to present to the court all breaches of law. Huntington, on Long Island, was taken under the jurisdiction of Connecticut. The account with George Fenwick, Esq., was settled with his heirs, Captain Cullick and his wife, by an exchange of full discharges. It appeared that the colony had paid more than £500 more than would have been due under the original agreement.

Uncas had reserved a large quantity of land as planting-ground, which he sold this year to Major Mason, now deputy-governor, for the colony, enough being reserved by the latter for a farm, and an agreement being had that Uncas, Wawequa, and their successors should always have sufficient planting-ground out of the tract. A controversy of seventy years, however, grew out of this informal contract, between the colony and the heirs of Major Mason.

Two men arrived at Boston in July who had made a distinguished figure in England. They

were Lieutenant-general Whalley and Major-general Goffe, two of the judges who had condemned Charles the First to death. Expecting to be beheaded if they should fall into the hands of his son, they had the prudence to leave England before he was proclaimed, and crossed the ocean in a vessel commanded by Captain Gooking.

Generals Goffe and Whalley were received, on their arrival at Boston, with marks of distinction; and, on removing to Cambridge, often appeared in public without apprehension, especially on the Sabbath, when they attended worship. They are described as men of remarkably polished manners and dignified deportment. In February, 1661, news came from England that thirty-nine of the regicide judges (as they were called) had been condemned, and ten executed as traitors. Governor Endicott then called a General Court, and proposed to have the two generals arrested: but they had so many friends in the court and among the people that the measure was not adopted. They were advised to leave Massachusetts, and sent to Connecticut, recommended to trusty friends. They reached Hartford on the 27th of March, and went on without delay to New-Haven. They soon acquired a high reputation among the inhabitants for piety as well as intelligence: but when the proclamation of the king was received, requiring their arrest wherever they might be, they appeared only at Milford in the daytime, commonly returning at night to New-Haven, where Mr. Davenport furnished them with a retreat in his house.

But the anxiety of their friends was much increased by the arrival of two young English roy-

alists at Boston, with a mandate from the king for their apprehension, and particulars of the trials and execution of some of their associate regicide judges. The magistrates now became alarmed, fearing that the king would take from the colonies some of these rights and privileges which they had hitherto enjoyed, and of which their brethren were deprived in England. Some of them may also have apprehended that they would be imprisoned or otherwise ill treated, if they should incur the displeasure of the king. The governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut did what they were required to do by the king's order: that is, they gave the required warrants for the apprehension of the fugitives. It is not improbable, however, that they may have secretly taken measures for their security. Governor Leet, of New-Haven colony, however, was called on to act with some decision, either for or against them, as Goffe and Whalley were in his jurisdiction. He was at his residence in Guilford when Thomas Kellond and Thomas Kirk, the two pursuivants, called to demand his aid in the king's name. They wanted horses immediately to proceed to New-Haven, where they had been informed the regicides then were. The governor detained them until the next day, but sent off an Indian and a white messenger, as they affirmed, probably to give timely notice to his friends. The court, being composed partly of unyielding opponents of the king, did not agree on anything; and the messengers sought in vain: all the people being in favour of the fugitives. President Styles's book on "The Regicide Judges" contains a minute account of their proceedings. It is reported that one day,



while the fugitives were making one of their frequent removals to avoid discovery, they were so nearly overtaken in New-Haven, near the foot of Neck Rock, that they had only time to hide under the bridge, over which their pursuers passed without seeing them. Some of their most secret retreats were, the "Lodge," or "Hatchet Harbour," and Fort Rock Hill, both in Woodbridge. Another was a cave, or, rather, natural chamber found among five large rocks lying together on the brow of West Rock, near New-Haven, where they often slept, and whence they had an extensive view over the country and the Sound. It is evident that the regard in which they were held at New-Haven was very high : for, although they more than once went into the town, and offered to deliver themselves up to the king, their friends would not allow them. Their pursuers were at length obliged to return to England without success ; and New-Haven colony was much blamed. The General Court of Massachusetts addressed the governor a letter of censure, to which he replied, by direction of the New-Haven court, exculpating himself, and requesting that his colony might be represented by a general agent for New-England, in the applications about to be made for patents.

Generals Goffe and Whalley lived and died in secrecy, concealed by friends : the former probably in Hadley. Whalley and Dixwell were interred in the old burying-ground in the public square at New-Haven, where their plain stone monuments still remain.

The colonies delayed to proclaim Charles the Second as king until they thought it would be un-

safe to delay any longer ; and New-Haven was the last to take so disagreeable a step. On the 21st of August, 1681, the court laconically declared that they acknowledged him king, and themselves "his majesty's loyal and faithful subjects."

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## CHAPTER XIX.

Death of Governor Newman, of New-Haven, and Election of Governor Leet.—Distrust of King Charles II. in that Colony.—Connecticut applies for a Charter.—It is obtained.—The Privileges it conferred.—The Government organized under it.—Measures taken to merge New-Haven Colony in that of Connecticut.—Opposition and Delay.—The Patent granted to the Duke of York.—The King's Commissioners and Ships of War arrive at Boston.—The Dread of greater Evils inclines New-Haven to unite with Connecticut.—New-York taken by the English.—The Dutch Possessions all given up.

THIS year terminated the life of Francis Newman, Esq., the second governor of New-Haven. He much resembled Governor Eaton in character and habits. William Leet, Esq., of Guilford, was chosen in his place. But the feelings of many of the people were against King Charles the Second, who had recently come to the throne ; and several of the men chosen for magistrates this year refused to accept, apprehending that the oath might bind them to obedience to the king in some points in which they could not conscientiously obey him. Two of them absolutely refused ; and Mr. Fenn took the oath conditionally, saying that, in matters

foreign to the colony he reserved the right of not acting.

In March, 1660, the General Court of Connecticut had determined to apply to the King of England for a patent ; and a petition to him was drawn up at the session in May, and intrusted to Governor Winthrop, as agent, to offer it. It represented that all the land of the colony had been purchased or conquered at the expense of the people, who had thus made a valuable addition to the kingdom. A letter was addressed to Lord Say-and-Seal, stating that some of the people of the colony, and the ancestors of others, had been encouraged by him to remove to America ; that the colony had reluctantly purchased the jurisdiction of his company to Saybrook, to prevent Mr. Fenwick from imposing restrictions on trade, and from selling it to the Dutch ; that the controversy concerning the Massachusetts boundary rendered a patent necessary to them ; and that his influence in their favour was very desirable.

Governor Winthrop was chosen agent for the colonies, and sailed for England. He found Lord Say-and-Seal (the only survivor of the 'original patentees of Connecticut) highly favourable to the wish of the colonies. As he was high in the king's favour, and had just been made lord privy seal, he exerted himself to procure the royal assent to the patents, assisted by the Earl of Manchester, chamberlain of the household, who had before been associated with him in favour of the colonies. Governor Winthrop, having made sure of their services, waited on the king, and showed him a ring which had been given him by his majesty's father. His next

step was to present him the petition of Connecticut, which the king readily granted ; and, on the 20th of April, 1662, the royal seal was set to the charter, which is still preserved in the office of the secretary of state in Hartford, with remnants of the impression of the great seal of England on green wax. The following persons are named as the patentees : John Winthrop, John Mason, Samuel Wyllys, Henry Clarke, Matthew Allen, John Tapping, Nathan Gould, Richard Treat, Richard Lord, Henry Wolcott, John Talcott, Daniel Clarke, John Ogden, Thomas Wells, Obadiah Bruen, John Clark, Anthony Hawkins, John Deming, and Matthew Canfield. The title given to this corporation was " The Governor and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut in New-England in America ; " and it embraced all lands included in the original patent, and, among the rest, that of New-Haven colony.

Among other privileges, it ordained two annual assemblies ; one on the second Thursday in May, and the other on the second Thursday in October, consisting of the governor, deputy-governor, and twelve assistants, with two deputies from each town or city ; to make laws, array troops for defence, and exercise martial law when necessary. The privilege of enjoying " all the privileges of free and natural subjects within the realm of England " was also granted ; and the clause conferring it proved a most important one many years after, when the violation of its principles by King George led the way to the independence of our country.

The year 1662 witnessed much commotion among the people of New-Haven, who were little

disposed to reconcile themselves to the government of Charles ; and several of the magistrates took the conditional oaths. In Connecticut the election was held after the arrival of the charter ; and Mr. Winthrop was chosen governor, Mr. Mason deputy-governor, Mr. Talcott treasurer, and Mr. John Clark secretary. An oath was required of freemen, binding them to the faithful discharge of their duty.

The General Assembly confirmed the existing officers, the laws of the colony, and the seal. They had now the unpleasant duty to perform of disowning New-Haven as a colony, and to absorb it in their own. Some of the inhabitants of Guilford, Southold, Stamford, and Greenwich were received under the protection and privileges of the commonwealth, on their application. The Dutch governor was warned not to interfere with any towns under its jurisdiction. Notice was given to the people of Winchester that they were within it ; and those of Mystic and Pawcatuck were ordered to manage all their affairs according to the laws of Connecticut. A court was formed at Southold, consisting of Captain John Youngs and the justices of South and East Hampton ; and all the other English towns there were brought under Connecticut.

The assembly sent Messrs. Allen, Wyllys, Stone, and Hooker to treat with their friends at New-Haven concerning the union required by the charter. This was opposed at a meeting of the freemen of New-Haven by Mr. Davenport, who, after stating his reasons, left it to be decided by others. After a full discussion, the freemen agreed that a reply should be drawn up, bearing testimony against the

great sin of Connecticut in acting so contrary to righteousness, amity, and peace, desiring a postponement until the return of Mr. Winthrop, and saying they must consult their confederates before they could act. Such a reply was sent: but Connecticut made no rejoinder, only appointing another committee of conference, which found the people opposed to any arrangement. It seemed that the people of New-Haven counted, with good reason, on the favourable influence of Mr. Winthrop: for he wrote to Connecticut on the 3d of March, 1663, that the union with New-Haven ought to be made with her full consent; and that he had bound himself, before he took out the charter, that she should suffer no injury therefrom.

Yet Connecticut persisted, and required the submission of Westchester and the Narraganset country; and the assembly in August, 1663, appointed the deputy-governor and three men to treat with several of the New-Haven towns, and, if necessary, to read the charter publicly in New-Haven, and demand her submission.

When the commissioners of the United Colonies met, on the 3d of September, 1663, complaints against Connecticut were presented from New-Haven and from Governor Stuyvesant in person. They declared that it would violate one of the articles of confederation to combine two of the colonies into one without the consent of all. The Assembly of Connecticut soon after appointed another committee to treat with New-Haven in an amicable spirit, received the towns on the western end of Long Island under their jurisdiction, and authorized Thomas Pell to purchase of the Indians

the land between Westchester and Hudson to be added to that town. The settlement of Hammonasset was begun this year. It was afterward named Kenilworth, and still later Killingworth.

The General Court of New-Haven was in session at the same time ; and, having been informed that the committee had requested Connecticut, since the decision of the commissioners, to recall her demands, saying that it would only promote a favourable treaty, and had received no answer, it was resolved, "That no treaty be made by this colony with Connecticut before such acts of power exerted by them upon any of our towns be revoked and recalled, according to the Hon. Mr. Winthrop's letter engaging the same, the commissioners' determination, and our frequent desires."

The court ordered also, that the property of persons refusing to pay taxes should be seized, but that no blood should be shed by any officer unless in self-defence ; and that a petition for relief from Connecticut should be sent to the king. A fast was appointed, and prayers offered for Divine care and direction. The state of the colony was so depressed, that the governor's salary was reduced to £40, and the deputy-governor's to £10. Things assumed a threatening aspect in Guilford in the winter, when John Rossiter, who had got two Connecticut magistrates, a constable, and some others to accompany him, fired guns near the town, and alarmed the inhabitants. Governor Leet sent for assistance, and was able, by persuasion, to prevent serious difficulty ; and urged on the court, which he called together, to suspend the

law requiring distraint for taxes. They drew up a temperate but forcible remonstrance.

This year the colonies were forbidden to receive goods from any port not belonging to Great Britain, so that nominally both the export and the import trade were cut off. New-England, however, still persisted in setting at naught the act of 1651, and prosecuting commerce wherever she pleased. The object avowed by the present act was to keep the colonies in firmer dependance of England.

At the General Court of New-Haven, held in May, 1664, the principal officers were re-elected: but little business was done. News was soon received of a new patent granted by the king on the 12th of March, giving to his brother, the Duke of York, "all that part of the main land of New-England" beginning at St. Croix, and extending to Pemaquid, up that river to its source, and thence to the river Kembequin to Canada; and also Long Island, and the "Narrow Highgansets" (Narraganset) "abutting upon the main land between the two rivers there called or known by the several names of Connecticut and Hudson's rivers, and all the land from the west side of Connecticut River to the east side of Delaware Bay," and also the islands of Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, &c.

The colonies had now a subject of great common interest to divert their attention from their immediate and less alarming dissensions: for the king had authorized the despatch of a squadron of three or four ships of war against the Dutch possessions in their neighbourhood; and Colonel Richard Nichols arrived in them at Boston on the 23d of July, with an army. He was accompanied



by George Cartwright, Esq., Sir Robert Carr, and Samuel Maverick, Esq., who, with himself, had been clothed with extraordinary powers, to determine all controversies in the colonies. He made a requisition on the colonies for troops, wrote to Governor Winthrop and others to join him on Long Island, and then sailed for Manahadoes. He reached there in time to demand Governor Stuyvesandt to surrender the place on the 20th of August; and offered to secure life, liberty, and property to the inhabitants. The Dutch were in a condition very unfavourable for defence, being unprepared and disunited. Their governor was first informed of the expedition on the 8th of July, and exerted himself to prepare for resistance. He refused to surrender, saying the English claim was unjust: but the people were differently affected, and wished to know the terms offered by the English. The governor tore the letter of Colonel Nicholson in a passion, and the people protested against his conduct.

Preparations were then made to send troops from the colonies and Long Island, as well as to batter the town; and the governor at length surrendered, on condition that the people should enjoy their religious rights, and become British subjects. The city was then named New-York, in honour of the Duke of York. Carteret soon sailed up to Fort Aurania, took it, and named it Albany, which was one of the ducal titles of the Duke of York; while Sir Robert Carr went with a part of the naval force to Delaware Bay, and received the submission of the Dutch and Swedes settled there on the 1st of October. This was the end of the troubles arising from Henry Hudson's right of discovery, which he

had sold to Holland, and thus gave them a pretext to claim this part of America. The Dutch acted in good faith, and became peaceable subjects of Great Britain.

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## CHAPTER XX. 1664.

Jealousy of the King's Commissioners prevails in the Colonies.—The Union of New-Haven with Connecticut urged and effected.—The Boundaries of Connecticut on the South and West determined.—County Courts and a Superior Court established.—Arbitrary Measures of the King's Commissioners.—The King's Colony formed by them.—New-York retaken by a Dutch Fleet.—The Troops of Connecticut raised to repel an expected Invasion.—Her Jurisdiction extended to Narraganset and the east End of Long Island.

In the mean time, the people of New-England, ever jealous of the designs of ambitious rulers, had seen enough of the English commissioners to take alarm. They had so conducted themselves while in Boston, that it was believed they would deprive the colonies of their liberty after the reduction of the Manahadoes. Mr. Whiting was sent to urge on New-Haven an immediate union with Connecticut; and the court, which met forthwith, resolved to submit until the meeting of the commissioners. This was opposed by many of the people: but the commissioners, who met at Hartford in September, urged the union, and offered to allow the votes of four of the six commissioners to have the same binding force which six of the eight had before.

The General Court of New-Haven, however, were unable to come to any conclusion when they met in September, chiefly through the opposition made by Mr. Davenport and Mr. Pierson of Branford. They objected to the baptism of the infant children not in full communion with the church, and to the admission of any but church members to the privileges of freemen, both which were allowed in Connecticut. Besides, New-Haven had been founded for an independent colony, on their favourite principles, at great labour and sacrifices; and its independence had been fully acknowledged; and they could not merge it in another without reluctance.

At the October meeting of the General Court of Connecticut, they had to take several important measures; and, among others, to prevent the English commissioners from deciding in favour of a petition to his majesty, from the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton, for the tract granted to their father in 1635, which had been referred to them by King Charles the Second. They presented to the commissioners 500 bushels of corn; sent to settle the boundaries with Massachusetts and Rhode Island; and proceeded to receive as much of the New-Haven territory under their jurisdiction as they peaceably could, appointing magistrates in it, and disavowing prosecutions under the laws of that government.

The king's commissioners, after a full hearing, determined that the southern boundary of Connecticut was the sea (Long Island Sound), and its western Mamaroneck River, and a line drawn north-northwest from the head of salt water in it to Mas-

sachusetts. The territory south and west of these lines was declared to belong to the Duke of York.

On the 13th of December, 1664, the General Court of New-Haven met, with the freemen and other inhabitants, when it was unanimously agreed, that, without justifying Connecticut, or having any hand in breaking the confederation, in loyalty to the king, they would submit to be put under Connecticut colony as soon as they should receive authentic evidence that such was his majesty's pleasure, but with a *salvo jure* of former rights and claims. A committee was appointed in 1665 to consummate the union. The Connecticut Assembly expressed very friendly views in a conciliatory manner, declared that all offensive acts under the authority of New-Haven should be forgotten, and resolved that the following persons should stand in the nomination for magistrates: William Leet, William Jones, Benjamin Fenn, Matthew Gilbert, Jasper Crane, Alexander Bryan, Mr. Law, and Robert Treat.

The king's commissioners presented four requisitions: requiring the oath of allegiance to be taken by the people, and "that the administration of justice be in his majesty's name;" "that all men of competent estates and civil conversation" be allowed to become freemen, and eligible to offices; "that all persons of civil lives may enjoy liberty of conscience, so far as might be, without endangering public peace or the maintenance of ministers;" and that all laws derogatory to his majesty be altered or annulled. With these the Assembly complied: but it is remarkable that the writs were from that time made out merely "in his majesty's name," without mentioning it or his titles.

The king's commissioners, about this time, gave a negative answer to the petition of the Duke of Hamilton, in which they enumerated the grounds on which the people of Connecticut had a good claim to that colony.

The union between Connecticut and New-Haven was consummated at the general election at Hartford on the 11th of May, 1665. Mr. Winthrop was elected governor, Mr. Mason deputy-governor, Messrs. Allen, Wyllys, Gould, Talcott, Wolcott, Allen, Sherman, Richards, Leet, Jones, Penn, and Crane magistrates. Mr. Talcott was treasurer, and Mr. Clark secretary. A proper proportion of the magistrates was from New-Haven colony, and harmony prevailed. Hastings and Rye were united in one plantation; and county courts were first formed by that name at this session. Two were to be held annually in New-Haven, in June and November, consisting of five judges, two magistrates, and three justices; and one was to be held at New-London, which was to form a distinct county in October.

At the next session in October, such a court was appointed at Hartford, instead of the quarterly courts, to meet in March and September, and to have cognizance of all cases except life, limb, and banishment. A jury was to be empannelled in cases of more than twenty shillings. A superior court was also appointed, to meet on the Tuesdays before the sessions of the General Assembly, to consist of eight magistrates, to have a jury, and to try all cases of appeal from county courts, and actions of life, limb, and banishment.

In consequence of dissatisfaction with the union,

Mr. Pierson, of Branford, and most of his congregation, removed to Newark in New-Jersey this year, taking the records of the town and church, and almost depopulating the place. It was not re-incorporated until 1685.

The union undoubtedly proved highly beneficial to New-Haven : but it is to be regretted that Connecticut showed a spirit in forcing it, almost as much opposed to some of the principles of the confederacy as the proceedings of Massachusetts, of which they had so much complained.

Apprehensions were entertained this year of an attack from the Dutch, war having been proclaimed by England against Holland ; but Admiral De Ruyter, who had been ordered to visit New-York with a fleet, did not proceed on that enterprise. A day of thanksgiving was therefore observed in the colonies in November.

We have now arrived at a period in which the arbitrary intentions of the king's commissioners began to be displayed in actions. Governor Nichols had taken up his residence at New-York : but the others began to exercise their authority at Boston, by making requisitions inimical to the charter and the rights of conscience. Having listened to the complaints of the Narragansets, without giving a hearing to Connecticut, they decided that a new colony should be formed, to be called the King's Colony, to extend west to Pawcatuck River, and north to Massachusetts ; and forbade the settlers in it to remain, and any jurisdiction except their own to be exercised within its limits. The deeds given by the Indians to the Rhode Islanders and Captain Atherton they declared null ; and then returned to Boston, farther to vex Massachusetts.

They undertook to protect criminals condemned by the courts, called magistrates to account for proceedings held according to law; and demanded that all persons should be admitted to the Lord's Supper who were orthodox, and of competent knowledge and civil lives, and that their children should be allowed to be baptized. These were measures to which Massachusetts could not submit; and a remonstrance was sent to the king, which, through the misrepresentations made by his commissioners, produced only an unfavourable effect. His majesty sent a letter to Connecticut, expressing his approbation of her proceedings: but, while no decision was given on the claim of the Duke of Hamilton against Massachusetts, he spoke with severity of recent measures in that colony.

In 1667, Governor Winthrop declined a re-election, but was persuaded to continue in his office by the urgency of his friends. His salary was raised to £110.

In the year 1669, the New-England Indians engaged in a great military enterprise against the Mohawks or Five Nations. They raised an army of 600 or 700 men, under a principal chief of the Massachusetts Indians, named Chickatawbut, or Josiah, and marched for the West, beyond the river Hudson. The Rev. Mr. Eliot and Mr. Gookin, of Massachusetts, used every exertion to dissuade the Christian or praying Indians from accompanying them, and with such success that only five joined the expedition. The army was soon in the Monawk territory, and laid siege to one of the forts of that tribe: but, after a few days, their provisions and ammunition being spent, and sickness having

appeared in their camp, they began their retreat. The Mohawks pursued: but were resisted with great bravery. They, however, killed about 50, and, among others, Chickatawbut himself, driving the invaders back to their own country. The fallen chief is said to have been "a wise and stout man of middle age, but a very vicious person." This was the last general battle fought between the New-England Indians and the Mohawks.

William Leet, Esq., was chosen deputy-governor, and Major Mason, after serving in that office a long time, was made a magistrate. In consequence of the great population of the colony, the Assembly resolved this year that the freemen might meet at Hartford on the second Thursday of May, either in person or by proxy, and consummate the election of governor and other officers. Regulations were also adopted for the freemen's meetings.

A committee was appointed by the Assembly to settle the long-disputed boundary with Rhode Island; and, as they were unable to come to a determination with the gentlemen from that colony in a meeting held at New-London, they went into the disputed territory under their instructions, and demanded the submission of the people. The case, however, was a complicated one. The patent of Lord Say-and-Seal and others had extended the colony to Narraganset Bay and River: but the arbitrators in England, to whom the subject had been referred in 1663, by Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Clark, the agent of Rhode Island, had agreed to name Pawcatuck River Narragance or Narraganset, although it had no bay. The boundary, however, remained unsettled more than 60 years.



Governor Winthrop still wished to resign his office : but, by great exertions, he was prevailed on to hold it, and remained at the head of the colony till his death. His salary was raised to £150 ; and he received presents of several tracts of land from the Assembly at different times.

In 1672, another of the most conspicuous of the first planters closed his public services. This was Major John Mason, who declined a re-election as deputy-governor on account of his advanced age and infirmities. Mr. John Nash was chosen in his place.

Major Mason had a military training for some time under Sir Thomas Fairfax in the Dutch Netherlands, and accompanied the Rev. Mr. Warham and his company to New-England in 1631. In 1636 he joined the first planters of Windsor. He was commander of the first military expedition in which the infant colony of Connecticut engaged, viz., that against the Pequods ; and, although he recommended a plan of operations different from that proposed by the court, which was at first preferred by his officers, he persuaded the latter to adopt his own, and came off with success, as we have before related.

Major Mason was for a long time at the head of the army of the colony. He is spoken of as a man of uncommon size, of great bravery, skill, and activity in military affairs, strict, moral, and very prudent. He was chosen a magistrate in 1642, and continued to be one till 1660, when he was elected deputy-governor. He took up his residence at Saybrook, at the request of the people, in 1647, for the defence of the place ; and removed to Norwich

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in 1659, where he died in 1672 or '3, in the seventy-third year of his age.

The first edition of the Connecticut code of laws was printed this year at Cambridge, Mass., forming a small folio volume of above 60 pages. The introduction was written in a very serious and religious tone, distinctly avowing that the object of the planters was the service and glory of God. It is addressed "To all our beloved brethren and neighbours, the inhabitants of Connecticut;" and declares that those "who settled these foundations," did it for the maintaining of "religion according to the Gospel of our Lord Jesus," which "ought to be the endeavour of all those that shall succeed, to uphold and encourage to all generations." Every family in the colony was required by the Assembly to possess one of these law-books.

In the year 1673 Richard Smith was appointed a commissioner at Narraganset, and made a magistrate for that country. A court of commissioners was appointed there, and he was made chief judge, with cognizance in cases not exceeding £20 : those over 40 shillings being tried by a jury.

Again the fear of bloodshed arose in the colonies, in consequence of the war declared by England against Holland in the preceding year; and a troop of horse was ordered to be raised in each county. A small Dutch fleet arrived at New-York on the 30th of July, 1673, commanded by commodores Everste and Benkes; and, on coming into the bay, Manning, the commander of the fort and island, surrendered them without resistance. New-York and New-Jersey readily submitted. The Dutch took a Connecticut vessel in the Sound.

The assembly met, and ordered that the troops (which amounted to 1570, and 500 dragoons) should be ready for service; and sent a letter to the Dutch commodores to inquire what they intended to do, and to say that Connecticut would be faithful to her trust, which was to protect New-York. A committee of war was also appointed.

A reply was soon returned by the Dutch commanders, who said they should obey their orders in doing all the harm they could to the enemies of their country; and endeavour to reduce the Long Island towns, if they should not obey their summons to submit. The committee, however, were so energetic in sending immediate aid to Long Island, that no attempt was made upon it; and, although an invasion of Connecticut was apprehended, the Dutch did not think proper to approach that territory: all the troops being ready to march at half an hour's warning. The Long Island towns had been taken under the jurisdiction of Connecticut the preceding October, at their request.

The same was done with Narraganset in 1674, while a court was formed at Stonington to prevent the people there from living "in dissolute practices, to the dishonour of God, and to the scandalizing of the very heathens."

New-England was supposed to contain at this time about 120,000 souls, 16,000 of whom were able to bear arms. The militia of Connecticut amounted to 2070 men. In all New-England, as we learn from a contemporary writer, there were five iron-works, but no guns were cast. There were fifteen merchants, worth about £50,000, or £500 apiece. No house had above twenty rooms; and not twenty

in Boston ten rooms each. The worst cottages had lofts. There were no beggars. Not three persons were put to death annually. There were no musicians by trade. A dancing-school had been set up, but was promptly put down. A fencing-school, however, was allowed. All cordage, sail-cloth, and nets came from England. No cloth was made worth four shillings a yard; and no linen above 2s. 6d. "No alum, copperas, nor salt was made by their sun."

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## CHAPTER XXI.

**A new Patent granted to the Duke of York, embracing the Territory of the Colony west of Connecticut River.—Sir Edmund Andross arrives as Governor of the Duke's Possessions.—Beginning of Philip's War.—Andross goes to Saybrook with Troops, and demands the Surrender of the Fort.—Manfully repelled by Captain Bull.**

THE year 1675 brought new alarm and difficulty upon New-England, in which Connecticut had to endure her share. News arrived from England that the Duke of York, the king's brother, not satisfied with the territory assigned him by the commissioners, had received from his majesty a new patent, dated June 4th, 1674, embracing the same territory as the former. He immediately gave to a Major Andross a commission constituting him the governor of New-York, and all his territories in those parts. It is remarked of this man by Mr. Smith, in his history of New-York, that "he knew

no law but the will of his master; and Kirk and Jeffries were not fitter instruments than he to execute the despotic projects of James the Second." It may be presumed that Charles was well inclined to see the institutions and designs of the Pilgrims thwarted, or at least controlled; and the people of Connecticut were not disposed to submit to oppression, especially from that race of kings. Yet what could they do? The duke once more laid claim to the chief part of the colony, viz., from New-York to the western bank of the Connecticut River; and Andross was preparing to bring it under his authority. As the master had set at naught all reason in instituting such pretensions, what justice or moderation was to be expected from the servant, especially as he had all the common motives of bad men to counteract the designs of the good? In case of opposition, the colony had nothing better to expect from him than an invasion.

But by this time things were in preparation for the most terrible Indian war that New-England ever knew. It will be remembered that Massasoit, sachem of a Narraganset tribe, befriended the Plymouth and Massachusetts settlers from the first, and remained their faithful ally till his death. His two sons, Alexander and Philip (as they were named by the English), had sworn attachment to them: but the latter possessed a spirit of enmity to the white intruders, as the disaffected Indians regarded them; and it was now discovered that he had been for some time plotting a sudden and general massacre in all the settlements. It is to be borne in mind that a party had, ere this, arisen among the Indians, to which the mass of the sav-

ages were greatly opposed. These were the Praying Indians, as they were called : that is, those who had been converted to Christianity through the exertions of Eliot, the Indian apostle, and his associates. Most of these had been collected in settlements, about thirteen of which were placed in a line in advance of the older towns of Massachusetts colony. Eliot had successfully trained them to agriculture, and many of the religious, social, and civil habits of the English ; and there was a fair prospect of their becoming a permanent, civilized, and Christian people. Already they had some magistrates of their own race ; and enough had been done to prove that the Aborigines are as susceptible as any other men of speedy improvement by means of Christianity. These interesting people, however, had violent enemies among the pagan Indians, being regarded both as allies of the English and as deserters from themselves. They necessarily kept up some intercourse with each other ; and this, in existing circumstances, tended to increase the enmity of the latter, who knew themselves to be worthy of suspicion.

One of the Christian Indians, named Sausaman, having become acquainted with the plots of the pagans, made them known to the English at Massachusetts. Philip employed some of his Wampanoags (of which tribe of the Narragansets he was the chief) to murder Sausaman ; and, although his body was sunk in a pond under the ice, the murderers were found and executed. This probably hastened the breaking out of the insurrection. On the 20th of June Swanzezy was attacked, and afterward other towns were assaulted, numbers of people were

killed, and other tribes in different parts of New-England showed signs of hostility. Troops were sent into Philip's country (near Bristol, R. I.): but he had hastily fled, burning and murdering on his way.

Governor Winthrop was at this time attending a meeting of the commissioners at Boston; and the council sent troops to Stonington, to defend the neighbourhood from the Indians.

Just then it was ascertained that another enemy was about to assail Connecticut from a different quarter: for Andross was reported to be coming down the Sound with armed ships, to enforce his authority, and occupy the territory which he claimed for the duke. Detachments of militia were hurried to Saybrook and New-London: the former under the command of Captain Thomas Bull, of Hartford, a man of undaunted spirit. Before he reached his place of destination, the people of Saybrook, on the eighth or ninth of July, descried the squadron of Andross; and, having ascertained his hostile designs, after a little hesitation, in consequence of having received neither orders nor warning, they began to make active preparations for defence. At this moment the intrepid Captain Bull arrived with his men. For some reason, Andross delayed until the 11th, and then brought up several armed sloops before the fort, and ordered the people to surrender both it and the town. This, however, Captain Bull refused to obey; and, displaying the king's flag, he paraded his men, and stood ready for action. Andross quietly maintained his position until the next day.

On the 9th the Assembly had met at Hartford;

and they drew up a protest against Andross, saying that, at that juncture, when the Indians were devastating and murdering in Plymouth colony, and threatening the others, in faithfulness to his majesty, and in obedience to his commands in their charter, they could do no less than protest against him and his abettors as disturbers of the commonwealth. They warned "the said Major Andross" to beware, as they should lay to his charge all the blood that might be shed by him and by the savages encouraged by him; and required the people to aid in resisting him, as they should answer the contrary at their peril. They concluded with the usual words, "God save the King." This protest was sent by express to Captain Bull, with orders to propose to Andross a reference of the dispute to commissioners.

When the messenger reached Saybrook, he found the English major about to land with his officers, having received permission to do so. Captain Bull proposed a reference as he was directed: but this was refused; and Andross ordered the Duke of York's patent to be read, as well as his own commission. The captain commanded him to desist, in the name of the king; and, seeing that he was disposed to proceed, repeated his order with such a resolute air that it was obeyed. The captain then read to him the Assembly's protest. Andross, addressing himself to the captain, inquired his name.

"My name is Bull, sir," replied the captain. "Bull!" said he: "it is a pity your horns are not tipped with silver." If by this expression he meant to convey the idea that the captain might have been



bribed to neglect his duty, he proved himself no less misjudging than base : for the men who enjoyed the public confidence in Connecticut attained it by their virtue and intelligence, and, therefore, were incorruptible. Andross, finding the people as well as the government determined to oppose him, said he should take no more measures against the colony ; and, returning to his vessels, steered for Long Island.

The General Assembly noticed this flagrant offence by publishing a resolution, which stated that John Winthrop and James Richards, Esqs., or either of them, on their intended visit to England, would take with them the documents relating to this affair, and furnish their explanation.

To return to the Indians. Commissioners were sent by the colonies into the Narraganset country to make a treaty with them ; and one was signed on the 15th of July by the Sunk Squaw and the six principal sachems. It promised perpetual peace, the restoration of stolen goods and fugitives, war against Philip and his men, and the payment of 40 coats to any Indian who would bring him in alive, or twenty for his head, and two coats for every subject of Philip, or one for the head of each. But this treaty was not much to be relied on, having been made in the presence of the army.

An attempt was now made to seize Philip on Pocasset Neck, where he and his followers had retreated to the forest and swamps : but, after a fruitless skirmish, the English injudiciously retired, leaving only a few soldiers to watch the isthmus ; and the Indians had skill enough to escape, by what means is a problem to this day. No certain trace

of Philip could be found for some time : but he continued to be very active in inciting the different tribes to hostility ; and many of the more exposed settlements were so closely watched by his allies, that many persons were surprised and captured, or killed, even when they strayed but a short distance from home. In some instances the Indians appeared in great numbers ; and several towns were besieged, or assaulted and burned. Connecticut happily suffered nothing on her own soil : for no part of it became a seat of war. Her inhabitants, however, had a share in the hazards, alarm, expense, and risks of soldiers. The savages, at different times, attacked Brookfield, Hadley, Hatfield, Northfield, Springfield, and Deerfield, all in Massachusetts, but some of which had been settled from Connecticut ; and the last two were almost entirely burned. The most severe calamity which befell the colonists was the battle of Bloody Brook : for there about 100 men, the flower of the county of Essex, Massachusetts, were cut off by a body of 700 or 800 Indians, who laid an ambush for them while they were on their way from the ruins of Deerfield, with wagon-loads of grain that had been left at the desertion of the ruined settlement.

The attack on Springfield displayed the characteristic subtlety of the Indians. Those in the vicinity had lived in peace and harmony with the settlers about forty years, but they admitted about 300 of Philip's warriors into their fort one night, and would probably have taken the town by surprise, had not a faithful Windsor Indian, named Toto, given a seasonable alarm at that place. Messengers were immediately despatched to Ma.

Major Treat at Westfield, to hasten on with the Connecticut troops under his command, and to Springfield, to give warning to the inhabitants. Tradition says that Soto, on his important errand, passed at night through a large encampment of Indians, sagaciously eluding their vigilance by lying down as if one of their number, and pretending to sleep, when afraid of their observation.

The people of Springfield would not suspect their Indians of treachery : but Lieutenant Cooper, the commander of the post, with another man, having imprudently ridden to the fort, were fired upon, and the latter was killed. The former, however, lived to ride back to town, and apprized the incredulous inhabitants of their actual danger. The savages immediately attacked the town, began to set fire to the houses and barns, and were about to slaughter the terrified inhabitants, who were entirely unprepared and in great consternation : but Major Treat arrived in time to save almost all the habitations, except thirty, and the lives of the people, as he soon drove the enemy away. Mr. Pelatiah Glover, the minister, lost his house and a valuable library.

The Assembly of Connecticut met on the 14th of October, and appointed Major Treat commander of the troops of the colony, and returned him thanks for his useful services on Long Island, in Massachusetts, and at Springfield.

There was soon an alarm of Indians at Norwich, and Major Treat set out for that place : but he was ordered back, and sent to Northampton, as the danger was still greater in that vicinity ; and several of the neighbouring towns were furnished with gar-

risons. On the 19th of October he was called to Hadley by the desperate state to which the inhabitants were reduced by about 800 Indians, who assailed the town on all sides at once. By their own exertions and the aid of their friends, the Hadley people were protected, and the enemy repulsed with such loss that they were discouraged in their hopes of effecting anything in that part of the country, and returned to Narraganset.

It is reported that, in the midst of the fight at Hadley, and at a moment when the savages were gaining ground, a stranger of a commanding aspect appeared among the terrified people, and fell upon the Indians with such spirit and skill that he checked them in their advance, and so encouraged the defenders that they followed him and expelled them from the town. On looking round for him after the fight, he was not to be found; and it was subsequently ascertained that he was one of the regicide judges, General Goffe, who was living concealed in the house of one of the principal inhabitants, and whom the common danger had drawn from his hiding-place, and excited again to deeds of valour.

The General Assembly, in consequence of the intelligence that the Indians were prepared to attack most of the frontier towns of Connecticut, ordered that 60 dragoons should be raised in every county, fully accoutred. Captain Avery was appointed to command 40 men from New-London, Stonington, and Lyme, with as many Pequods as he should think proper; and Captain John Mason 20 Englishmen and the Mohegans, for the defence of the eastern parts; while 120 dragoons were placed un-

der Major Treat, for the general defence of the colony. Every town was required to be fortified, and provided with the best places of protection they could make, to which the women and children were to retreat on the first alarm; and feeble persons near the frontiers, unable to defend themselves, were advised to remove to places of greater security.

But still greater sufferings were threatened as the spring approached: for, as the commissioners ascertained, the Narragansets proved faithless to their late treaty, harboured the fugitive enemy, and had some wounded young men of their own tribe returning from the scenes of warfare. The Narragansets alone could muster about 2000 warriors, and it was believed that they had about 1000 muskets. Of course the colonies had melancholy prospects for the next campaign, which would commence with the spring: for how could they resist such a force, added to the greater number which Philip might incite against them?

In the numbers here estimated, it is pleasing to say, we are not to include Ninigrate nor his men: for he at length cast off his double dealing and took the side of the English, which he faithfully kept through the war

## CHAPTER XXII.

**Expedition of the United Colonies against the Narragansets.—**  
**Situation of the Fort.—They destroy it, with a great Slaughter**  
**of the Indians.—Continuance of Hostilities.—Measures for**  
**Defence and Resistance.—Settlements destroyed.—Expedi-**  
**tions cut off.—Capture and Death of Canonehet.**

ON the 12th of September, the commissioners gave orders for the raising of 1000 men to attack the Narragansets. Massachusetts furnished six companies and a troop of horsemen, all amounting to 527 men, under Major Appleton; Plymouth 158, under Major Bradford and Captain Gorham; and Connecticut, although her proportion was only 315 men, sent 300 Englishmen, and 150 Pequods and friendly Indians, under Major Treat, in five companies, under Captains Seely, Gallup, Mason, Watts, and Marshall. The whole of these forces were placed under the command of Josiah Winslow, Esq., as commander-in-chief. The Connecticut troops were ordered to rendezvous at New-London by the 10th of December, and there to await the commands of Mr. Winslow.

The commissioners appointed a fast for the 2d of December, saying that "it was an humbling providence of God that put his poor people to be meditating a matter of war at such a season:" for they knew the great hazards of sending troops on such an enterprise, as a single night without shelter, or one of the frequent heavy snowstorms would probably destroy the army.

On the 17th of December the Connecticut troops left New-London, and reached Pettyquamscot, but found that the Indians had burned the houses and barns, and killed ten men, and five women and children. On the 18th they joined the rest of the army; and that night also, though cold and stormy, was spent without shelter. They were now within fifteen miles of a swamp in which the Narragansets were assembled; and in the morning, which was the Sabbath, they marched to attack them. The Massachusetts troops took the van, those of Plymouth had the centre, and the Connecticut companies the rear. They met a party of the enemy a little distance from the fort, who retreated into it after returning their fire. Although the soldiers had marched without stopping till one o'clock through the snow, they hastened on to attack the enemy in their strong position. The fort was on a small hill rising from the swamp, surrounded by a palisade and a hedge about a rod in thickness, so that it seemed vain to attempt to enter it at any place except that by which the fugitives had entered it. This was a narrow opening, the only passage to which was by a log laid five or six feet above the ground, over which two persons could not go abreast. A blockhouse was placed in front, and a kind of flanker was advantageously situated for the enemy to fire from.

The difficulties of the case, however, did not deter the assailants. They had reason to presume that they must be either victorious or destroyed; and the first of the Massachusetts soldiers mounted the log and entered the fort as fast as possible. It proved, however, that the Indians were not un-

prepared nor afraid : for the defences were well manned and furnished with muskets and ammunition. A destructive fire opened upon the soldiers, and was kept up with such energy that they could not endure it, and most of them retreated, leaving Captains Johnson and Davenport, with some of their men, who were cut off. A pause occurred while the main body was coming up, being much retarded by the difficult ground and the snow.. The Connecticut troops were led by spirited officers, who brought them up with all possible speed, and led them across the log bridge into the fort in considerable numbers. Captain Marshall, however, was killed while upon the log. There they maintained a resolute contest with the whole force of the savages for three hours, although Captains Gallup and Seely were among the killed, until a small party of them, who had their muskets loaded with pistol bullets, having gone round to the opposite side of the fort, found a spot where the palisade had not been placed ; and, forcing their way through the thick hedge, fired on the backs of the Indians. This soon threw them into confusion, so that they left the blockhouse and flanker, were driven from one part of the fort to another, and then fled into the forest. Fire was set to the wigwams, which soon destroyed them all, and (painful to relate !) a considerable number of old men, women, and children in them. It was supposed that the whole number found in the fort was nearly 4000 ; that 300 men were killed in the fight, and many others wounded mortally ; and nearly an equal number were taken prisoners, besides 300 more women and children. The fugitives had to spend the following



night in a cedar swamp, without shelter, food, or fire.

The loss of the colonists was very great: six captains were killed, and eighty soldiers killed or mortally wounded. They had now undergone severe fatigue: but no shelter was offered them nearer than the quarters they had occupied the night before; and they were compelled to set off immediately on their return. Just as the sun was setting they had taken up their wounded and dead companions, who amounted to about 200, and begun their march, Major Treat, it is said, being the last in the fort. The air was very cold, and the snow fell fast, so that, before they reached their quarters, about midnight, many had their limbs frozen. Four hundred were now disabled. The Connecticut troops suffered most in proportion to their numbers, bearing nearly half of the entire loss. Of their five captains, three were dead, and Mason so wounded that he died nine months afterward. Eighty of the three hundred Connecticut troops were among the killed and wounded: viz., twenty in Seely's company, twenty in Gallup's, fourteen in Marshall's, and nine in Mason's. About forty of the wounded recovered. The destruction of so many women and children made the most sad impression even on some of the soldiers, who were loud in their remonstrances.

Major Treat took his troops immediately away, sending the wounded by water to Rhode Island. The Massachusetts and Plymouth troops remained in the field most of the winter, pursuing Indians, and endeavouring to make peace with them. The destruction of the fort was the principal cause of

their overthrow. The Indians would listen to no proposals for peace : but set off for the Nipmuck country, which was in the present county of Worcester, Massachusetts, to join with that powerful tribe in new depredations. On the way they robbed some of the settlers ; and, in company with the Nipmucks, they plundered and burned the chief part of Lancaster on the 10th of February, killing and taking 40 persons. A few days after, they attacked Medfield, Massachusetts, burned half the houses, and killed 20 men. They continued their course of destruction in March, with ruinous effect in Massachusetts and Rhode Island : but, happily, did not invade Connecticut. The following towns were partly or wholly destroyed, and lost many of their inhabitants by death or captivity : Northampton, Springfield, Chelmsford, Groton, Sudbury, and Marlborough, Massachusetts ; Warwick and Providence, Rhode Island ; and Reboboth and Swanze, in Plymouth colony. The particulars of this destructive campaign will be found in Church's History of Philip's War.

Captain Pierce, of Plymouth, with fifty English and twenty Indians, was cut off by an ambush ; and Captain Wadsworth, while marching to relieve Sudbury with fifty men, met the same fate. The condition and prospects of the colonies were now most gloomy : but the spirit of some of the people was not depressed. Indeed, the sufferings and dangers of their neighbours were such as to excite the sympathy of the people of Connecticut ; and in February, 1676, four companies of volunteers were formed in Stonington, Norwich, and New-London, who were very active for several months, and did great

service, under the command of their efficient leaders, Major Palms, and Captains George Denison, James Avery, and John Stanton. They were accompanied by some Mohegans, under Onecho, the son of Uncas; some Pequods, led by their chief Casasasinamon; and about twenty of Ninigrate's Narragansets, under Catapazet. These companies took turns in traversing the Narraganset country, keeping them in constant fear until they were driven out of it and went to the north.

Captain Denison performed most important service on one of these excursions. He left Stonington on the 27th of March, having learned that the chief sachem of all the Narragansets had come from the northern boundaries of Massachusetts for seed-corn, to plant the towns which had been laid waste and deserted, was lurking in the neighbourhood. This was Nanuntteenoo, the son of Miantonimoh, a man of large size, athletic frame, and a proud spirit. Captain Denison hunted him in vain for several days. Having reached Blackstone's river, some distance north of Providence, they found the tracks of Indians; and, having taken a squaw prisoner, she told them that Nanuntteenoo, or Canonchet as he was also called, was in a wigwam at no great distance. The chief was engaged in giving an account of the ambush in which Captain Pierce had been killed: for he was fresh from that dreadful scene of slaughter. As volunteers were pressing on to seize him, they were seen by several of his men, who ran away, except one, who gave Canonchet the alarm in season to allow him to get some distance before his pursuers.

Catapazet, the friendly Narraganset chief, thought he recogniesd Canonchet by his manner of running, and immediately gave him chase; and the swiftest of the Indians coming rapidly on, he first threw off his blanket, and then a laced coat that he had received as a present at Boston, by which it was known who he was. He soon reached a stream, through which he attempted to dash his way: but, his foot slipping, he fell and wet his gun; and the foremost of his pursuers, Monopoide, a Pequod, in an instant rushed through the water and seized him. The sachem seems to have at once lost all hope of escape. He made no resistance; and, when the first Englishman came up, a young man, named Robert Stanton, he refused to answer any of his questions, looking with disdain upon his youthful countenance, and said, in broken English, "you too much child; no understand matters of war; let your captain come; him will I answer."

Several of Canonchet's chief counsellors also were taken; and the English endeavoured to induce them all to become their friends, and abstain from war. The sachem, however, rejected their offers, and chose to be treated as an irreconcilable and dangerous enemy. They thought they had no other course to take but to put him to death; and his execution was committed to the friendly Indians. When infomed that he must die, he replied that he "liked it well; that he should die before his heart was soft, or he had spoken anything unworthy of himself." He was taken to Stonington, and there Oneco, with his counsellors and the principal Pequods, shot him with their guns.

Another Narraganset sachem, a grandson of Pomham, was captured also by the volunteers, who, in the autumn, had made ten or twelve excursions, and killed and taken 230 of the enemy, got 50 muskets, and 160 bushels of corn, yet did not lose a single man. The enemy were now again driven out of the Narraganset country.

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## CHAPTER XXIII. 1676.

**Death and Character of Governor Winthrop.**—Governor Leet chosen in his Place.—The Indians pursued and destroyed in different parts of Connecticut and Massachusetts.—Battle of Northfield.—Captain Church.—Philip killed at Mount Hope, in Rhode Island.—The War terminated.

GOVERNOR WINTHROP died on the 5th of April, 1676. He was born in 1605, at Groton, in England, and was the eldest son of the first governor of Massachusetts. He was educated in his native country at Cambridge, and travelled for improvement in France, Holland, Germany, Italy, and Turkey. "While he collected the literature and excellences of the various countries through which he passed," says Trumbull, "he cautiously avoided their errors and vices." His example we may therefore warmly recommend to every young man, who, in later times, may, like him, become a traveller. He was a pious and learned man; and, being a Puritan, like his father, he accompanied his family to America in 1631. On a visit to England he re-

ceived a commission to build Saybrook fort, and to be governor under the patent of Lord Say-and-Seal, Lord Brook, and others. He was chosen a magistrate of Connecticut in 1651, and governor in 1657; and from 1659 till his death he was annually re-elected to that office. He was one of the most distinguished men of New-England, and regarded as one of the best physicians and chemists of the time. He was a member of the Royal Society for Philosophical Transactions, and communicated some of the earliest information concerning this country to that institution.

William Leet, Esq., was chosen governor, and Captain Mason magistrate in his place. A standing army of 350 men and the friendly Indians was ordered to be raised, to harass the enemy, under the command of Major John Talcott.

Early in June the army marched from Norwich northward, through Wabaquasset (or the Mohegan conquered country), and found only the deserted Indian fortresses, which they demolished, and 50 acres of corn, which they destroyed. Passing into Massachusetts, at Chanagongum they killed 19 Indians and took 33, and went to Brookfield, whence, not meeting the Massachusetts troops as they had expected, they proceeded to Northampton. They suffered much from want of food, so that the expedition was called "the Long and Hungry March."

The arrival of this force at Northampton was very opportune: for, four days after, their assistance was demanded at Hadley, where 700 Indians suddenly attacked the town, and would probably have destroyed it, with several others, but for the

appearance of Major Talcott, at whose approach they fled, and afterward attempted nothing farther. The Massachusetts troops at length arrived, and joined with those from Connecticut for three weeks in scouring both sides of the river up to Deerfield falls. They found quantities of fish and other provisions, which they destroyed, and also recovered some stolen property. The battle of Northfield, Massachusetts, gave the final blow to the Indians, as many were destroyed and all dispersed.

Major Talcott then marched his troops back to the Narraganset country, where, on the 3d of July, they surprised the main army of the enemy in a cedar swamp. They surrounded it, and fought them for two or three hours, killing and taking 171. Among the captives was Magnus, the Sunk or Snuke Squaw, an old Queen of Narraganset. According to the barbarous custom of the times, 90 of the captives were killed: only 40 or 50, being women and children, were saved. The troops then moved the same day to Providence Neck, and afterward to Warwick Neck, killing 18 and taking 49 prisoners. Among the whole 238, they found about 30 muskets. They then returned home. The volunteers, in the mean time, had killed and taken 182 Indians.

The Indians appear to have begun to despair from this time, being reduced to great distress by the loss of numbers, habitation, food, and secure retreats, as well as by the close pursuit of their enemies. The flesh of horses and other unwholesome fare had caused much sickness among them: so that, as some of them declared, more died of disease than in battle. They were now scattered about

the country in small parties, seeking food and exposed to destruction ; and numbers of them soon began to come in to the settlements, and ask for that mercy which the colonists were glad to grant them.

Major Talcott was despatched to Westfield, whence he made a hasty march in pursuit of a large body of Indians, on their flight to the westward, no doubt to join the Mohawks, fifty-five of whom were soon killed and taken. Among the former was the sachem of Winnimisset or Brookfield, in Massachusetts.

One of the most active and successful of the officers of that period was Captain Church ; and the reader of Church's Narrative of Philip's War, written by his son, will find in it many interesting particulars, chiefly relating to the expeditions in the Narraganset country. Philip, still showing himself to be utterly opposed to peace, although deserted by most of his forces, had returned to Pocanoket (a place near Bristol, Rhode Island) to procure seed-corn, was pursued thither, and closely pressed by Captain Church, and several times but barely escaped capture. - He was at length traced to a swamp at the foot of Mount Hope or Montaup, his former residence, and there surrounded and ambushed through the night. In the gray of the morning, while attempting to steal away through a mist, he was shot by a soldier, and killed on the spot.

His surviving chief captains were soon after taken prisoners or killed by Church and his men, and were all pardoned except a few of the most obnoxious ; and thus the war was brought to a conclusion. The Assembly of Connecticut offered



to the Indians life, liberty, protection, and ground to cultivate (the terms which they had given to the Pequods), excepting only the chief instigators. Many of them, however, chose to reject them, and left the country. The immediate result of their emigration was the deliverance of the colonies from numerous enemies : but it probably increased the evils of invasion which they suffered many years afterward. Several large tribes fled to Canada, and joined the Indians there, thus placing themselves under the protection of the French, who were long the most implacable enemies of the English colonies. This was done by the Nipmucks from Brookfield and its vicinity, the Nashawas, the Pocomtocks from Windsor, the Hadley and Springfield Indians.

Thus the people of New-England were for a time delivered from the fear of their savage and terrible enemies, and were at liberty to rebuild their ruined habitations and cultivate their neglected fields. But they had a sad reckoning to make of their losses and sufferings. About 600 men of the flower of the colonies had been slain in war ; twelve or thirteen towns in Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Rhode Island had been partly or wholly destroyed ; many cattle had been killed ; and the country was burdened with a debt of immense amount compared with its resources.

The war with the Eastern Indians we shall not stop to speak of particularly, as it did not immediately affect Connecticut. It cost Massachusetts a great deal ; and, although it began about the same time, was not closed until 1678. Most of the eastern and northern settlements of that colo-

ny, extending into the present states of Maine and New-Hampshire, were broken up; about twenty fishing vessels, with their crews, were captured; and numerous lives were lost. An account of that war may be found in "Hubbard's Indian Wars."

Although Connecticut had not suffered in Philip's war as severely as her neighbours, her taxes had been for three years as high as eleven pence on the pound on the grand list, besides town and parish taxes, and yet a considerable debt remained unpaid. The people were greatly favoured by Providence, by having few but friendly Indians in their territory, and not a single party of men cut off by surprise in their numerous enterprises in aid of their neighbours. In this, as in many other cases of difficulty and danger, they had reason to confide and rejoice in the protection of that Almighty Being, to whom they paid such becoming regard in their public acts, as well as in their social institutions; and who had given them so much reason for inscribing on the arms of the colony that noble motto:

*"Qui transtulit sustinet."*

[He who brought over sustains.]

The population of the country, checked by war and many untoward circumstances, was still but small. Trumbull estimates the inhabitants of New-England in 1675 at only 35,750 persons, in 7150 families. If the same rule be applied to Connecticut, it will give an amount of population only a little exceeding that of Hartford or New-Haven at the present day.

The Assembly met in October, laid a tax of

eight pence on the pound upon the whole list for two years, gave permission to the Mohegans, Pequods, and Ninigrate's Narragansets to hunt on the conquered territory, and kill any remaining enemies, and appointed a committee to hear their complaints, and to settle them all in peace.

In 1677, Captain John Mason having died of the wounds received at the Narraganset fort, Mr. Andrew Leet was chosen a magistrate in his place. A committee was appointed to arrange affairs about the Narraganset country, and to report places fit for settlements: for Rhode Island had done nothing there in the war. Colonel Nichol's proceedings, they considered, had nullified the act of his majesty's commissioners making it the King's Colony; while the agreement with Mr. Clark was of no force, on several considerations. The Assembly granted protection to Elisha Hutchinson, William Hudson, and others, in resettling a large tract of land in the Pequod and Narraganset country.

While the Assembly were in session in October, they were requested, by the upper towns in Connecticut River, to send Major Treat to confer with a large number of Indians in that region, who seemed desirous of peace. He was despatched accordingly, to offer them the usual terms, and with directions to ransom all the captives if possible. In the latter part of his duty he was in part successful: but very few of the Indians were willing to remain in the country.

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## CHAPTER XXIV. 1678.

Edward Randolph misrepresents the Colonies to the King.—Death of Governor Leet.—His History and Character.—Claims of the Duke of York and Duke of Hamilton.—Sickness in the Colony.—Colonel Dugan Governor of New-York.—Accession of King James II.—Randolph arrives from England to examine the Charters of the Colonies.—Sir Edmund Andross made Governor of New-England.—He marches to Hartford with a Body-guard, and demands the Charter of Connecticut.—It is concealed in the Charter Oak, and preserved.

IN 1678 the colonies suffered some of the ill effects of a bad government in England. James the Second, being an enemy to liberty, civil and religious, and, of course, being inimical to the principles of New-England, was ready to listen to their defamers ; and Edward Randolph became very officious in spying out their liberty, in order to deprive them of it. He made an annual visit to Boston from 1676, and usually returned in autumn to England, to make complaints and undermine the interests of the country at court, particularly by representing them as unreasonably opposed to the acts of trade and navigation. The commissioners, well knowing to whom men should always apply in times of difficulty and danger, recommended a general fast, with humble prayer to God for the preservation of their rights. This was complied with, as usual, by the Assembly of Connecticut, as well as the other confederates.

Rhode Island began again to claim jurisdiction

in the Narraganset country ; which the Assembly forbade the settlers to acknowledge.

At the session in May, 1680, Governor Leet, of Connecticut, took the oath respecting trade and navigation required by the king, although Massachusetts refused to obey it, and the governor of that colony declined taking the oath.

This year a statement of the condition of Connecticut was made, at the request of the committee of trade and the colonies, from which we learn that it contained 26 small towns, with 21 churches, all of which had settled ministers except two new ones. Its exports were about £9000 in value annually ; and it owned 24 small vessels, some of which traded with Boston, and others with the West Indies. The vessels were 4 ships, 3 pinks, 8 sloops, and 12 smaller vessels, with a tonnage of 5080 tons. There were but few servants, and not more than 30 slaves. The militia numbered 2507. There was one troop of mounted soldiers, and two others were raising. The forces were called trainbands, commanded by a major in each county, and a general for the colony. In Hartford county were 835 militia, New-Haven 623, New-London 509, and Fairfield 540. These trainbands contained all the men between 16 and 60 years of age.

The Indians were computed at 500 fighting men. At that time the Assembly, in giving in these and the following particulars to the lords of the committee of the colonies, said, " We are strangers to the French in Canada, and know nothing of their strength or commerce." It was suggested that it would be very favourable to commerce " if so be New-London, New-Haven, and Fairfield might be made free ports for 15 or 20 years."

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There came "sometimes three or four blacks from Barbadoes," who were sold for £22 each.

The number of men in 1671 was 2050 ; in 1676, 2303 ; in 1677, 2362 ; in 1678, 2490 ; and in 1679, 2507. The commodities were lumber, provisions, and horses. The whole property did not exceed £110,788 sterling. The only export or import duties on goods were on wines and liquors, and these were appropriated to maintain free schools.

"The people," said the report, "are strict Congregationalists, a few more large Congregationalists, and some moderate Presbyterians. There are about four or five Seven-day men, and about as many Quakers. Great care is taken of the instruction of the people in the Christian religion, by ministers catechizing and preaching twice every Sabbath, and sometimes on lecture-days ; and also by masters of families instructing their children and servants, which the law commands them to do.

"Every town maintains its own poor : but there is seldom any want, because labour is dear, being from 2s. to 2s. 6d. a day for a labourer ; because provisions are cheap : wheat is 4s. a bushel Winchester, pease 3s., Indian corn 2s. 6d., pork 3d. a pound, beef 2½d. a pound, butter 6d., and so other matters in proportion. Beggars and vagabonds are not suffered ; but, when discovered, they are bound out to service ; vagabonds, who pass up and down, are punished by law."

Sir Edmund Andross now began again to trouble the colony, by claiming the jurisdiction of Fisher's Island. It was impossible to foretel what difficulty he might not cause if allowed to hold that important place ; and the Assembly protested against him.

In 1683 the governor's office was vacant, in consequence of the death of William Leet, Esq. His history is interesting, as, in fact, is that of most of his associates, as far as it is known. He was a lawyer in England, and joined the Puritans in consequence of witnessing the injustice and severity practised upon them by the English bishops early in the seventeenth century. From his acquaintance with their "pure" principles, for which they were first persecuted, he had honesty enough to acknowledge that the bishops were in the wrong in punishing them for attending good sermons and solemn meetings in neighbouring parishes when they had none at home; and, preferring the sincere and defenceless victims to those who claimed the right of ruling their consciences, he came to America with Mr. Whitfield in 1638, settled at Guilford, and became one of the seven pillars of his church. He was a magistrate of New-Haven colony from 1643 until 1658, then deputy-governor till 1661, when he was elected governor. He held that office till the union with Connecticut in 1665, and then was chosen a magistrate. In 1669 he became deputy-governor, and governor in 1669. These offices he held without intermission during forty years of the greatest difficulty, and never failed to act with honour and integrity. The last few years of his life were spent in Hartford, where he died, says Trumbull, "full of years and good works."

To decide the question concerning the king's right to the Narraganset country as his colony, a commission met there on the 22d of August, 1683, consisting of Edward Cranfield, Esq., lieutenant-

governor of New-Hampshire, and Messrs. Stoughton, Dudley, Randolph, Shrimpton, Winthrop, Palms, Saltonstall, and Pyncheon, appointed by his majesty. After obtaining testimony from "the most ancient English and Indians then living," they made a full report, declaring that it belonged to Connecticut.

In the mean time, another difficulty arose concerning the same territory. Edward Randolph, Esq., laid before the commissioners at Boston the Marquis of Hamilton's claim to the Narraganset lands, having a power of attorney from the duke and duchess and the Earl of Arran, to sue for them for what they supposed had been granted to their ancestor in 1635. Answers were returned by the proprietors and the colony; and, some years after, the opinions of several learned lawyers were obtained, adverse to the claim.

Connecticut was much afflicted by sickness this year, and a large number of parishes were deprived of their ministers by death. The harvest also was scanty; and, with a desire to acknowledge the hand of God in this misfortune, a fast was appointed, and the people were called upon to humble themselves before him. The proclamation says, "the dispensations of God towards his poor wilderness people have been very solemn, and awful, and speaking for many years past," and particularly at that time, in general sickness in most places, excessive rains and floods in several plantations.

About this time a new governor had been sent from England to New-York. This was Colonel Dugan, on whose arrival, the Assembly of Connecticut sent a committee to congratulate him, and



to settle the boundaries between the two colonies. This question was arranged on the 28th of November, though the committee was not appointed before the 14th; and the line was begun at Lyon's Point, at the mouth of Byram River, up that stream to "the wading-place," thence north and northwest eight miles from Lyon's Point, and thence to the line of Massachusetts, by a course to be laid down from other lines to be drawn. This was approved at the May session following; the line was run in 1685 by Major Gould, Mr. Burr, and Mr. Selleck, and ratified by both parties.

The Assembly were informed, by letters from the king in 1683, that a conspiracy had been planned against his majesty and the Duke of York; and sent a letter expressing their abhorrence of such plots, saying they feared God and honoured the king.

A law against pirates was passed in 1684, in consequence of a letter from Lyonel Jenkins, Esq., demanding it in the king's name.

James II. having come to the throne in 1685, the Assembly addressed him a letter of condolence and congratulation, and praying the continuance of their civil and religious privileges.

But James was too little a friend to his subjects and his duty to regard the leading champions of freedom with favour. Having trampled on the rights of Englishmen at home with as little scruple as his predecessor had done in his later years, he soon began to oppress his subjects in America. Charters were disregarded by both monarchs, and those of the colonies were soon questioned by James. On the 6th of July, 1686, the Assembly

met at the governor's special call, in consequence of having heard of a writ of quo warranto, issued in the preceding year, summoning the governor and company of Connecticut to show by what warrant they exercised certain privileges. The Assembly addressed a letter to the king; and soon after Mr. Randolph arrived, with writs, when Mr. Whiting was appointed agent, with instructions to request the king that, in case the colony should be divided, the people might be secured in their property and privileges.

Another writ was presented on the 28th of December, requiring appearance "within eight days of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin." Still, although that would have been impossible, the chartered rights of the colony were again declared vacated in case of non-appearance. The prospect was now very gloomy for Connecticut, as well as for the rest of New-England, whose charters were in danger of the same unceremonious and unjust violation by which nearly fifty corporations had been destroyed in England. How could a small colony expect to preserve its rights, when not only the corporation of Bermudas, but the city of London, had been robbed of their charters, after a trial in courts overawed by the king?

And now, under the authority of the monarch, who was considered as bound by his creed to seek the overthrow of Protestantism, a new and general government had been formed for New-England except Connecticut. This was designed to subvert the whole system of the colonies, and to counteract and disappoint the philanthropic and noble designs of their founders. The commissioners were made

the ruling body, and Mr. Dudley was made their president by the king. The old charters were to be recalled, and the "King's Colony" was to be recognised, so that the Narraganset country would be lost to Connecticut. At the same time, new principles must be brought into action, of a character the opposite of those which had governed before; and what evils might not be apprehended? Massachusetts had already resigned her charter, and Rhode Island had submitted to the king's wishes. Here, then, was a period of peculiar trial for the people of Connecticut.

A third special meeting of the Assembly, held in January, 1687, committed the management of affairs to the governor and council; and in June another met, on the receipt of a letter of a gloomy character from Mr. Whiting, in England.

The king had seen that, by directing the commissioners, he might control the colonies; and Mr. Dudley must obey, or soon leave his office. He went so far as to write to Connecticut that she had better resign her charter: but this she had not seen fit to do. Probably Mr. Dudley was too unwilling to injure the colonies to render him a favourite with the king; and Sir Edmund Andross was ere long invested with the chief power, by being made governor of New-England, while Mr. Dudley was deprived of his office. The change was soon made: for Andross arrived at Boston on the 19th of December, 1685, and began to act as governor the next day. Two letters were sent by him to Connecticut, urging that the charter might be given up; and Colonel Dugan seconded the request. The Assembly, however, seemed resolved to insist upon the rights of the colony.

They had another meeting in October, and proceeded in the usual manner, in obedience to the charter; when a body of English regular troops, amounting to above sixty, came marching into Hartford, escorting Andross and his party. He came with the peremptory authority of his tyrannical master, demanded the charter of the colony, and declared the Assembly dissolved. It is said that Governor Treat remonstrated and argued at length, and that much time was occupied in debating what course to pursue, till evening arrived, and the discussion was continued by the Assembly in the presence of the imperious Andross. It is reported by tradition that the meeting was held in a house which stood on a spot nearly opposite the present Middle Church; that the evening was warm, the front windows low and open, and crowded by spectators in the street. The charter, which was so dearly cherished by all the people, had been produced, and lay on the table. At a signal given, several men in the street pulled off their light jackets, wound them in bundles, and threw them at the candles, which were instantly extinguished. They were soon relighted: but the contested document was gone, and all inquiry for it proved fruitless. Search was made, but no trace of it could be discovered; and at length Andross, after taking the government on himself, was forced to return to Boston with his troops, entirely baffled in his nefarious project.

It was long before the charter came again to light. After King James's death, and when danger had ceased, it was found concealed in the hollow of a noble old oak-tree in front of the mansion

of the Hon. Samuel Wyllys, where it had been deposited, in entire secrecy, by the patriotic and resolute Captain Wadsworth, whose name will not fail to be remembered with respect and gratitude. The oak is flourishing still, although it was left on account of its great size when the forest was first cleared away; and the charter is still preserved, with the case in which it was originally placed, in the office of the secretary of state.

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## CHAPTER XXV. 1687.

The Government of Connecticut dissolved by Andross.—His Council.—His oppressive Measures.—He denies Indian Deeds, and gives Patents for Estates.—Restrictions on Public Rights and Personal Liberty.—Condition and Prospects of the People.—An important Change in their favour brought about by that Providence in which they trusted.—William made King of England.—Andross seized by the People of Boston.—The legal Government restored in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

THE loss of the charter did not prevent Andross from overthrowing the government; and the Assembly was dissolved, leaving only this record in the journal:

“At a General Court at Hartford, October 31st, 1687, his excellency Sir Edmund Andross, knight, and captain general and governor of his majesty’s territories and dominions in New-England, by order from his majesty, James the Second, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the 31st of October, 1687, took into his hands the govern-

ment of the colony of Connecticut, it being by his majesty annexed to Massachusetts, and other colonies under his excellency's government.

“FINIS.”

We may imagine the melancholy feelings with which these words were written. The labours, self-denial, and perseverance of the planters of Connecticut were now apparently rendered entirely fruitless; the exertions of two generations of devoted men to form a state on principles far more sound, pure, and philanthropic than any before acknowledged in a government, now seemed to have been in vain; and what hope could there be of their revival? An overthrow might have been looked for in Europe: but it had been hoped that, at such a distance and in such a wilderness, persecution would not seek her victim. But there was nothing too obscure or remote to escape the hand of the foreign oppressors, where they had the power to extend it. It has always been so where tyrants have had power. It is not to be imagined, however, that the statesmen of Connecticut, even in such a time of gloom and foreboding, forgot the Rock in which their fathers had placed their trust. Christianity kindles an inextinguishable hope in the soul, while it springs from an entire confidence in the Almighty which nothing can overthrow. Those pious men constantly practised on that humble but ennobling principle of the Gospel, which leads man to regard all events as under the control of his Heavenly Father, and every trial as a thing designed to encourage him in duty, and not to dishearten him.

Probably the leading statesmen of the colonies

had an understanding with each other, and agreed that they should retain all the influence which they honestly might, to prevent as much evil as possible. Andross, on his part, probably found that he could not at once proceed with all his meditated measures, and that the countenance of men of influence was necessary to him, at least for a time. He formed a council of about forty men, which he afterward increased to nearly fifty. Among them were four from Connecticut, viz., Governor Treat, John Fitz Winthrop, Wait Winthrop, and John Allen, Esqs.

Andross made the fairest promises, to quiet the fears of the people : but soon began to exercise the unlimited and irresponsible power which the king had given him. He would not allow truths displeasing to him to be published, allowed none but magistrates to join persons in marriage, and suspended the laws made for the support of ministers. Finding that the people were opposed to such measures, he threatened to deprive them of their meeting-houses, and to punish any person who should give even twopence to a nonconformist minister. He greatly oppressed the poor, and the widows and orphans especially, by requiring all business relating to wills to be settled at Boston, and raising the fee for the probate of a will to fifty shillings. Such measures he adopted without regard to his council, if they withheld their consent. Randolph and a few other subservient men, whom he had raised to it for his own purposes, adhered to him ; and the people had no resort for relief. It was evident that arguments and petitions were as unavailing with the king, as those of the Waldenses and Albigenses had been with the popes.

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This is a period in the history of the colonies which the people will always have reason to regard with peculiar seriousness. The state to which they were reduced was one which seemed to threaten the final destruction of liberty, civil and religious; and there was no remedy within the power of man while the king retained his throne and disposition, and had unprincipled favourites to place over this country. Divine Providence was pleased to bring those afflictions to an end, though not until they had continued some time longer, and had been increased by several aggravations. The enemies of the colonies were not permitted to obtain a complete and permanent triumph: otherwise the inhabitants of New-England might have been to this day ignorant, superstitious, degraded, and oppressed. The men of those times clearly understood their rights, and manfully sustained them; and if their descendants wish to see from what condition they were saved by the intelligence and virtue of their ancestors, let them look at the miserable nations of Spain and Italy, and thank God that they have a different ancestry.

The year 1688 saw the people reduced to the lowest state of depression. Sir Edmund Andross was then made governor of New-York as well as of New-England; and his domineering, tyrannical spirit displayed itself in a manner which led Hutchinson to compare him with Nero. The charters having been now put out of the way, he began to think of seizing the property of the colonies. He declared that an Indian treaty was of no more value than "the scratch of a bear's paw;" and gave notice that proprietors of estates must take out patents



for them. For these he sometimes required the payment of £50 a piece. This was so glaringly unjust and oppressive, that some of the principal men refused to submit to it; and the consequence was, that their lands were given to others. Governor Hutchinson says, that the whole property of Massachusetts would not have been sufficient to pay for the patents, if this tax had been levied on all at once. Numbers of the people of that colony were imprisoned, and denied the privilege of Habeas Corpus; only one town meeting was allowed in a year; people were forbidden to go out of the country without the governor's permission, so that they were restricted, as many European nations are now; remonstrances and petitions to the king had no effect; and Andross proved himself to be, in the words of his favourite, Randolph, "as arbitrary as the Grand Turk." In spite of danger, however, Mr. Increase Mather boldly took ship and sailed for England, presented himself before the king, and delivered to him a list of complaints which he had carried from Massachusetts: but it was all in vain.

Connecticut suffered less than some of the other colonies from the arbitrary and high-handed measures of the governor: but her liberty and the property of her citizens were in continual danger. The people judged, from what they saw and heard, that Andross was in heart attached to Rome, and had excited and engaged the Indians to invade the colonies. It was rumoured, and extensively believed, that he had furnished them with ammunition, and was prepared to deliver up the country to the French, and the descendants of the Pilgrims to

such persecutions as the Huguenots had suffered in France. The people and their legitimate rulers, however, in the midst of these dangers, retained their trust in God; and deliverance came at length, perhaps from a source which few of them had expected.

A vessel arrived at Boston in May, bringing the most welcome tidings: the King of England, whom the colonists regarded as the author of their troubles, had been driven from the throne; William, prince of Orange, the chief supporter of the Protestant cause in Europe, having been invited to come from Holland, and totally defeated the royal army. This was sad intelligence for Andross and his friends; and, while they were dreading the consequence, the tidings were joyfully carried to Connecticut.

The magistrates in Massachusetts seemed at first in doubt what to do: but the people of Boston and that vicinity could not long suppress their impatience; and on the 18th of April they rose in arms, took the castle, seized Andross and his councillors, stripped him of power, but were too magnanimous to insult or injure him. They then requested the governor and council to assemble and assume the government as before his interference; and thus everything was soon peacefully restored to the former state. In Connecticut, the people, having no enemies to subdue, desired that the old system might be re-established; and, on the 9th of May, Governor Treat and Lieutenant-governor Bishop resumed their offices, and the magistracy was made complete by the choice of Major-general John Winthrop. All was done, as customary in Connecticut, according to order and law.

The freemen had met and voted that, for the present safety of that part of New-England called Connecticut, the necessity of its circumstances so requiring, they "would re-establish government as it was before, and at the time when Sir Edmund Andross took it, and so have it proceed, as it did before that time, according to charter; engaging themselves to submit to it accordingly, until there should be a legal establishment among them."

The Assembly were not slow in meeting; and they resolved, "That whereas this court hath been interrupted in the management of the government in this colony of Connecticut for nineteen months past, it is now enacted, ordered, and declared, that all the laws of the colony, made according to charter, and courts constituted for the administration of government, as they were before the late interruption, shall be of full force and virtue for the future, and until this court shall see cause to make farther and other alterations, according to charter."

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## CHAPTER XXVI. 1689.

**A French Fleet is sent against New-York, but called to Canada, to protect that Country from the Five Nations.—The Burning and Massacre of Schenectady.—Measures for protecting the Frontiers.—The Northern Colonies engage in a Land and Sea Expedition against Canada.—New-York and the Five Nations fail to perform their parts; and General Winthrop returns from Lake Champlain with his Army.—Governor Phipps makes an unsuccessful Attempt against Quebec.—Leisler's Treatment of General Winthrop.—Vote of Thanks to Mr. Mather.—Defensive Measures.—The Invasion of the Five Nations by the French.—Colonel Fletcher demands the Militia of Connecticut to be placed at his Orders.—He is refused.—The Boldness of Captain Wadsworth.**

THE colonies, after having been delivered from enemies at home, were now seriously threatened by a very formidable foe from abroad. The King of France despatched a fleet across the Atlantic to capture New-York; and the apprehensions of the country were greatly and justly excited on receiving the news. Before it had time to accomplish its object, however, the commander received an urgent call from Canada, which induced him at once to renounce his design, and to proceed for the defence of that country: for the Five Nations were carrying on a war with the Canadians, which greatly distressed them. Thus the danger was removed.

Count Frontenac, determined to do what harm he could against the colonies, in January, 1690, sent out more than 200 French and Indians to fall on the frontiers. Schenectady (15 miles west from Albany) was at that time the most western settle-

ment in New-York ; and Captain Bull was spending the winter there in garrison with his little troop, but in such circumstances that he could do them but little good. The people of that colony were much opposed to Governor Leisler, and would not allow the troops in Albany and Schenectady to do duty, although Captain Bull had threatened to march away. The inhabitants of Schenectady saw no room for fear, thinking it impossible that the enemy could perform a march from Canada in the dead of winter. A hostile force, however, was then near them, which was Frontenac's expedition, in a reduced condition, after a 28 days' march. Several Indian scouts came in from it to spy out the state of the town, with serious thoughts of surrender : but they made such a report that, on the 8th of February, the whole body came suddenly on, in the silence of night. There being no watch nor sentinel posted, they proceeded in small parties to all the houses at once, and began a merciless and indiscriminate massacre, while they burned the dwellings. Sixty persons were slaughtered, and 20 taken captive, while the rest escaped in their night-clothes, 25 of whom lost limbs by freezing. Among the killed were Captain Bull's lieutenant, a sergeant, and three of his men ; and five more were made prisoners. The news caused a panic at Albany, so that the citizens were about to desert and burn the town.

Not long after this (viz., on the 18th of March), the village of Salmon Falls was taken by about 50 French and Indians, under a French officer named Hurltel. They attacked it in the morning in three divisions, and were bravely resisted, but were vic-

torious, killing 36 men, and taking 54 captives to Canada, chiefly women and children.

A special meeting of the Assembly was held on the 11th of April, and troops were sent to the Massachusetts towns on the Connecticut, as well as to Albany, in consequence of urgent requests for aid from the two colonies. A strict watch was ordered to be kept in all the towns by all the males in turn; and aged and infirm men having more than £50 on the list were to hire substitutes.

All the military officers were then confirmed, and appointments were made of civil officers, as formerly. The Assembly also made provision for the calling of another meeting, in case of important business. We may imagine something of the change of feelings which the king's overthrow produced in the country, and of the new joy caused by the arrival of a vessel at Boston on the 26th of May, which brought the news of the coronation of William and Mary. The throne was now decidedly in favour of the people of New-England; and the difference between its friendship and its enmity they were able to realize. The Assembly were called together again on the 13th of June; and the king and queen were proclaimed on that day, with universal satisfaction.

An address was sent to the king through Mr. Whiting, saying that God had magnified him, like Joshua, by the great deeds he had done in rescuing the nation; and thanking him for his zeal for the people and the Protestant interest. They told him of their claims to their charter, which they had never surrendered, and desired him to confirm to them its privileges.

A request had been received from Captain John Leisler, at New-York, that troops might be sent to aid him in keeping the fort and city, as he had assumed the government on hearing the news from England. Major Gould and Captain James Fitch were sent to consult with him; and troops were marched to New-York and Albany, under an apprehension that the French designed to make an invasion by both sea and land. The force sent to Albany was commanded by Captain Bull, with orders to assist in a treaty with the Five Nations, and to defend that region against the French and Canada Indians. Two companies were also sent against the Eastern Indians, who continued to give trouble to Massachusetts. Captain Bull afterward greatly distinguished himself by his activity, judgment, and success in the military operations in New-York.

The commissioners, having been restored to power since the revolution, met at New-York on the 1st of May, 1690, and ordered that 800 men should be raised to march against Canada, fixing the quotas of the colonies, and rules for the army. In the preceding months a request had been sent to the king, for aid in an intended invasion of that country: but the condition of England would not permit it. The commissioners, with New-York, however, determined to undertake a war alone; and proposed to get 500 or 600 Indians to accompany the whites against Montreal, while a fleet should enter the St. Lawrence and besiege Quebec. They counted on receiving from that colony a large savage force, and hoped New-York would furnish provisions, and vessels to carry them down Lake Erie.

John Winthrop, Esq., was appointed major-general and commander-in-chief, and reached Wood Creek with his troops in August. About the same time, Governor Phipps, of Massachusetts, with more than 30 vessels, sailed from Nantasket for Quebec. The largest of the vessels carried 40 guns and 200 men. The fleet did not reach its destination until the 5th of October; and, before that time, the army had returned to Albany. This was done in consequence of the Indians sending but 70 instead of 500 warriors, and the want of canoes and provisions. Count Frontenac had his troops in Montreal, expecting the intended invasion; and now hastened to defend Quebec against the fleet, as there were only 200 Frenchmen in that city.

While the army and the fleet were absent from New-England, some of the French force appeared on the coast, and, landing at Block Island, plundered the houses and captured most of the people.

Sir William Phipps landed his troops on the 8th of October, marched towards Quebec, cannonading it at the same time from the ships. But he made no impression, re-embarked on the 11th, and, after being exposed to bad weather, was forced to return to Boston without success.

Governor Leisler and Milborn were so enraged at Mr. Winthrop that they arrested him on his reaching Hudson, and kept him prisoner, intending to try him, until the Mohawks, who were attached to him, took him from their hands. Some of the principal men of Albany, being of the general's council, had to flee to Connecticut for safety from Leisler; and Mr. Livingston and several of his



friends resided for some time at Hartford. The Assembly protested against Leisler's lawless proceedings, as a violation of his duty to the United Colonies, when he ought to have complained to the commissioners. They also passed a vote of thanks to General Winthrop for his good service to their majesties and the colony, in bringing off the army when it would have been imprudent to proceed.

There being an alarm in the upper river towns in Massachusetts in the winter, a company of Connecticut troops was sent to Deerfield for its defence.

In May, 1691, William Jones, Esq., was chosen deputy-governor, in consequence of the death of Mr. Bishop; and Captain Caleb Stanley was chosen a magistrate in his room.

The colony was under great obligations to Mr. Increase Mather, of Boston, for the faithful and disinterested exertions he had made in England for her good. Though he was employed by Massachusetts as her agent in London, he assiduously laboured for the benefit of the other colonies also whenever an opportunity occurred. When William and Mary came to the throne, he took such measures as prevented the bill to establish the governors of New-England from being adopted; and he co-operated with Mr. Whiting, agent for Connecticut, to his utmost. The Assembly passed a vote of thanks to those gentlemen, and also to Mr. James Potter for similar services, while they desired them to procure from the king his approbation of the proceedings in Connecticut, and protection in their privileges. There was great reason to hope for justice from such a monarch, who had

restored the charters of which James II. had so arbitrarily robbed the city of London and many other corporations in England.

For the relief of the many families who had suffered from the Indians in the Eastern war, the Assembly recommended a contribution to be made in the colony, requesting ministers to urge upon the people the duty of aiding them.

The town of Windham was incorporated in 1692. It was bequeathed to John Mason, James Fitch, and fourteen others, in 1675, by Joshua, son of Uncas, with the present town of Mansfield; and the settlement began about 1686.

At the same session (1692) the Assembly ordered that New-London should be fortified, and the fortifications of Saybrook should be repaired, under an apprehension that the French might return to the coast. At the same time, in consequence of intelligence that a large body of French and Indians were preparing to come from Canada, scouts were ordered to scour the upper country, and arrangements were made to send out detachments of militia, when needed, with officers qualified to command them. These fears, however, were not realized by Connecticut: for Count Frontenac decided on beginning operations first against the Five Nations, when he found he could not persuade them to join him, apprehending the repetition of their invasions of the French settlements in Canada. On the 15th of January, 1693, he sent 600 or 700 Frenchmen and Indians to take them by surprise; who, after a distressing march, reached the first Mohawk castle (or fortified village) on the 6th of February. This they captured, as well

as two others, with but little loss, taking about 300 prisoners. Most of the warriors were at Schenectady, having no fear of an invasion in the dead of the winter. When the news reached Albany, Colonel Schuyler immediately set off in pursuit of the retreating enemy with 200 volunteers; and, with 300 Indians, overtook them in a fortified camp. He repulsed them in three sallies: but, while waiting for a re-enforcement, they escaped in a snow-storm by night, and, crossing the north branch of the Hudson on a cake of ice, got safely back to Canada, leaving almost all their prisoners, and about 30 dead men. The latter were eaten by the pursuing Indians, who were suffering extremely from hunger.

The Connecticut Assembly was immediately convoked on the receipt of the news of the invasion; 150 men were ordered, on the 21st of February, to march to Albany; and fifty of them set off the next day. A no less urgent demand was soon received from Sir William Phipps in Maine; and the Assembly again met in season to order out, on the 6th of March, 60 Englishmen and about 40 Indians, under Captain William Whiting. A new request was made to Massachusetts to settle the boundary.

But now a new source of trouble arose: for the new governor of New-York, Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, demanded the submission of the militia of Connecticut to his orders, being fully empowered by the king. The Assembly referred the question to the freemen, who gave a vote of 2180 against it, and in favour of sending a protest to England. Major-general Fitz John Winthrop was appointed the agent, and instructed to acquaint his majesty

with the inconsistency of such a power with the privileges granted by the charter, and to lay before him the true history and state of the colony. Sir William Phipps had before come out with similar authority: but he never had attempted to exercise it in Connecticut; and the agent was instructed to declare, that if he had, it would never have been acknowledged without a direct reference to his majesty. In the mean time, Mr. William Pitkin was sent to New-York, to persuade Governor Fletcher to await the decision of the king: but he refused. The Assembly were in session at Hartford in October, when he appeared there, and demanded that the militia should be placed at his command, as lieutenant of his majesty, and commander-in-chief of the land and sea forces; and ordered that the militia of Hartford should assemble, that he might beat up for volunteers. The Assembly called them out, though they insisted that they would not yield the right of commanding them, so explicitly granted to them by the charter. He then directed Colonel Bayard to acquaint the Assembly with his determination to leave the civil rights of the colony as he found them, but that they must admit that the king had an inherent right to command the militia, and that he should not leave them until they should acknowledge it. He offered a commission to Governor Treat, which he declined; and the Assembly were equally unyielding.

Tradition says that Colonel Fletcher ordered his commission to be read to the trainbands in Hartford, and that Captain Wadsworth, their senior officer, immediately directed the drummers to beat their drums. He, no doubt, well understood

the determined spirit of the soldiers ; and, when Colonel Fletcher ordered silence, he called out, "Drum, drum, I say !" The drummers obeyed with great good-will, and did not cease till peremptorily commanded by Colonel Fletcher. The resolute captain, as if imitating the example of Captain Bull at Saybrook, when opposing the claims of Andross, called out again, "Drum, drum, I say !" and, turning to the intruder, said, with a threatening look, "If I am interrupted again, I will make the sun shine through you in a moment." The indications of determined opposition were so strong, and so many people came flocking to Hartford, that Governor Fletcher preferred his more safe retreat at New-York, and departed with his attendants, without attempting anything farther.

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## CHAPTER XXVII. 1694.

**Military Preparations.**—The Question about the Militia settled in favour of Connecticut by the King.—The County Courts.—Peace between France and England.—Fitz John Winthrop Governor.—The Lower House of Assembly.—New Townships.—The Western Boundary established by the King in 1700.—Accession of Queen Anne to the British Throne.—War declared against France and Spain in 1702, by England, Germany, and Holland.—Defensive Measures.—Governor Dudley and Lord Cornbury's Demand for Money.—Their Intrigues in England.—Opposed by Sir Henry Ashurst.—A Book published against the Colony, entitled "The Doom, or Miseries of Connecticut."

KING WILLIAM having sent a letter to Connecticut, stating that he had ordered Albany to be fortified, and that this colony was to contribute to pay

the expense, the Assembly was convoked in February, 1694, and granted £500 to be paid to Colonel Fletcher. A penny was levied on the pound: the rateable polls being about £2847.

Fears of a northern invasion being again excited, the commissioned officers on the northern and western frontiers were ordered to be in readiness to send immediate aid to any place which might be attacked, and detachments of militia were provided with everything necessary.

The gratifying news was received this year, that King William had determined the question between Connecticut and Colonel Fletcher in favour of the colony, after his attorney and solicitor general had assented to the justice of General Winthrop's arguments, and made their report. It was therefore settled that only a quota of 150 men should be placed under Fletcher's orders, and that the militia should remain at the direction of the governor. A number of troops were soon sent to attend a treaty with the Five Nations.

This year the north line was run by a committee, which Massachusetts would not assist in nor acknowledge. In 1696 Captain Whiting was sent to Albany with 60 men, and 40 dragoons marched to Hampshire county: but, in 1697, the Assembly declined sending such a body as Massachusetts requested, to assist in attacking the eastern Indians. They, however, agreed to send about 60 English and 40 Indians to range the woods and to protect Hampshire county.

In 1698 it was ordered that each county court should consist of one chief judge and four justices of the quorum, appointed by the Assembly. Gen-

eral Winthrop, on his return from England, received a vote of thanks and a present of £300 for his services. On the 2d of April, General Winthrop, Major Sillick, and the Rev. Mr. Saltonstall presented the congratulations of Connecticut to Lord Bellamont, who had arrived at New-York as governor of that colony and Massachusetts; and he expressed great satisfaction at the courteous manners of the committee, especially of the dignified demeanour of the venerable minister. And now, the question of the Rhode Island boundary being again agitated, by a call from the Board of Trade and Plantations, a committee was appointed to attend to it.

The news of peace between England and France, which was settled by the treaty of Riswick on the 11th of September, 1697, was hailed with great joy in Connecticut; and, on counting up what the war had cost her, it was thought that it exceeded £12,000. Of this, £7000 was spent in defending Albany and Hampshire county. The unreasonable alarm repeatedly felt by Governor Phipps had caused much unnecessary trouble: for he had made requisitions, sent orders and countermanded them on many trifling rumours; and, had the war continued, great vexations would have arisen from this source, although he had been complained of to the king.

The Assembly appointed a day of thanksgiving, to express gratitude to Almighty God for the inestimable blessing of peace, of which they had been deprived by no act and with no desire of their own. General Fitz John Winthrop was chosen governor this year, and Governor Treat deputy.

governor, William Jones, Esq., having retired, at the age of 72. The Assembly was now divided into two houses: the upper to consist of the governor, or the deputy-governor, and the magistrates, and the lower of the deputies. The latter were to appoint their speaker and make their own by-laws. The consent of both houses was required for the passage of any law. It was also ordained that a county court should consist of one chief judge and two justices of the quorum.

The lower house of Assembly was first formed in 1699, and chose Mr. John Chester speaker, and Captain Whiting clerk. The clergy were this year exempted from taxation by an act of the Assembly. The settlement of Durham was commenced this year, under the name of Cogingchaug; and Plainfield was incorporated.

A pirate named William Kidd (more familiarly known as Captain Kidd) before this time had occasionally resorted to Long Island Sound. Attempts have since been made in many places, both on the mainland and on the islands, to discover the treasure which he is said to have concealed in the earth, though without any success. The marks of excavations are very numerous in some of the Thimble Islands off Branford, where several places still bear his name. His history has been kept alive by an old ballad, in which he is misnamed Robert Kidd. He sailed in a privateer sloop named the Antonio, turned pirate, and committed many murders as well as robberies. He intrusted with Mr. John Gardiner, of Gardiner's Island, a large amount of property, among which was about 150 ounces of gold-dust, and 500 in gold bars, besides coined



money, precious stones, &c. These were buried by Kidd in a large iron chest in a swamp on that island; and he told Mr. Gardiner that he must answer for its safe-keeping with his head.

A short time after this he was captured and condemned at Boston for piracy; and the property was delivered at the order of Lord Bellamont in 1699.

It is impossible to determine when the people of Connecticut began to manufacture some of their most important articles, and to what extent they increased. Convenience and necessity, with their intelligence, and industrious and frugal habits, must have disposed them to make many things which they at first received from England. The English manufacturers and merchants were early alarmed by the fear of losing the profits of supplying the colonies, and sent many petitions to Parliament to restrict them. In later times we may trace the revolution, in a great degree, to a similar commercial jealousy. This year Parliament declared "that no wool, yarn, or woollen manufactures of the American plantations should be shipped there, or even laden, in order to be transported from thence to any place whatever."

The boundary between the colony and New-York, as it had been agreed on by commissioners in 1683, was established by King William in 1700. But it was twenty-five years before any part of the line was run, viz., in the reign of George I., when, in compliance with the petition of Connecticut, a royal order having been issued to New-York, her legislature appointed commissioners. These met, with those of Connecticut, at Greenwich, in May, 1725,

and began the line, which was finished on the 14th of May, 1731, and a complete settlement made. New-York relinquished certain lands along the Sound, in consideration of which, Connecticut gave up "the Oblong:" a tract of 60,000 acres, which may be seen marked out on many maps on the western boundary.

A township six miles square was granted to Captain Thomas Leffingwell, Mr. John Frink, and other volunteers who had served in Narraganset in Philip's war, to be chosen out of the conquered country. Four years after, Voluntown was confirmed to them, being bounded by a line drawn north from the pond at the head of Pawcatuck River to Greenwich path, thence west to Preston, and, for the remaining bounds, by Preston, Stonington, and Pawcatuck River. A considerable tract was added on the north nineteen years afterward.

It was ordered this year that the Assembly should meet at New-Haven, in future, in October; and that the court of magistrates also should be held there on the first Tuesday of that month.

Queen Anne came to the throne this year, and addressed a letter to the colony, to which the Assembly made a loyal reply.

Danbury and Mansfield were incorporated in 1702. A patent was given to New-London, and a tract added on the north, from the northeast corner of Lyme to the southwest corner of Norwich, as it goes to Trading Cove. An act was passed by the Assembly confirming all patents given to towns and sequestrations made of land.

But now the colony was disturbed in the enjoy-

ment of that peace which they had so much desired, and again involved in a war, brought upon it through its dependance on the mother country. In May, 1702, war was declared against France and Spain by the Queen of England, the Emperor of Germany, and the States-General of Holland; and Connecticut, as well as the other colonies, was involved in its losses and dangers. Governor Dudley and the Massachusetts court asked the Assembly, in October, to send 100 men against the eastern Indians; soldiers were sent to protect the western towns; and a committee of war was appointed, to send others to the frontier and Hampshire county.

A special committee was appointed in 1704, to prevent the friendly Indians from joining or co-operating with the enemy. The inhabitants of every town were required to meet and consider the best manner of fortifying it; and commissioned officers were authorized to send out half the militia to repel any sudden attack, and to pursue the enemy. One hundred men were ordered out for Governor Dudley in the east, and sixty for Hampshire county chiefly, to be under the command of the committee of war and the commanding officer there. County committees were appointed, to consult for the public safety; and persons and families were forbidden to desert any frontier town, without permission from the Assembly, under penalty of the loss of their freehold property there. Indians also were enlisted for scouts. The number of troops now kept on foot was 500; viz., 100 in the east, and 400 for the defence of the colony and Hampshire country; and the latter were provided with snow-shoes, that they might be ready for service at all seasons.

A king's attorney was ordered to be appointed by each county court, to prosecute criminal offenders; and these attorneys were required to be not only moral, but religious men.

The colony, in the midst of these trials and expenses, was much harassed by urgent demands for money by Governor Dudley, of Massachusetts, and Lord Cornbury, governor of New-York and New-Jersey. They stated that it was needed for the defence of their governments: but of this they gave no proof. The former appears to have been a man of an ambitious and domineering character, and versed in the arts of intrigue; and, while he grasped at the control of all New-England, he persuaded Lord Cornbury to favour his measures, under the hope of being made governor of Connecticut and the southern colonies. Having been connected with Sir Edmund Andross in the days of his misrule, he was an enemy to all the civil and religious rights so steadily maintained by the people of Connecticut. He opposed every plan suggested in England for the benefit of the colonies; and had succeeded in getting a strong party in Parliament to favour the concentration of the government of them all in one person, and superseding the charters, and had a bill prepared for that purpose in the reign of King William. It was introduced into Parliament soon after Queen Anne's accession; and the preamble declared that the charters granted to the New-England colonies, East and West New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Carolina, the Bahama and Lucay Islands, were repugnant to trade and the interests of the other colonies, favourable to piracy, &c.

What this artful and indefatigable enemy might have accomplished if unopposed, we cannot with certainty determine. Fortunately, he had an upright and skilful antagonist in Sir Henry Ashurst, the agent for Connecticut in London, who presented a petition or remonstrance to the Lords, representing the injustice and injury with which the bill was pregnant, stating that the charter was inseparably interwoven with the state of things, and could not be taken away without greatly injuring property as well as the rights of the people, and introducing confusion, if not ruin. Sir Henry obtained a hearing at the bar of the House, in behalf of the colony, on the third of May, 1701; and, having honourable connexions, ability, and the aid of a righteous cause, he placed the character and claims of Connecticut in an elevated point of view before the members, and made such an impression that the ambitious Dudley was entirely defeated: for his bill was rejected by the Parliament.

But he was not disheartened by this failure; and Lord Cornbury stood by to second him in a new attack upon the rights and privileges of the colonies. They were both imboldened by the consciousness that they had powerful acquaintances and connexions in England, and that there were some disaffected men in America. Dudley had many friends at court; and Cornbury was nearly related to the queen, as well as to several persons who held unfounded claims for land in the conquered country, or had appealed to England from decisions of the colonial courts, and were disposed to make common cause with any opponent of the existing order of things. Among these dissatis-

fied persons were Messrs. Nicholas Hallam, Major Palms, Captain Mason, and Daniel Clark. They all might expect much personal advantage from the success of an impeachment of the colony, which was now resolved on. Lord Cornbury was poor, and, wanting money, would have been glad to have the power to force out of Connecticut the sums he had been refused.

The first step, therefore, was to make out a set of charges; and this work was committed by Governor Dudley to one Bulkley, who wrote a large folio volume, entitled "The Doom; or, Miseries of Connecticut," abounding in misrepresentations, and highly extolling the government of Andross. With his customary duplicity, Governor Dudley all this time treated Connecticut with courtesy and marks of friendship, and once wrote a letter in which he gave them thanks for the abundant supplies with which they had furnished him, though it was one of his charges that they had withholden them.

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## CHAPTER XXVIII. 1704.

Owaneco, the Mohegan Sachem, incited by disaffected Persons to urge unfounded Claims to Lands purchased by the Colony.—Governor Dudley appointed, with a Court, to try them.—The Land Claim of the Mason Family.—The Charges made by Governor Dudley brought to a hearing before the Queen in Council.—Decided in favour of the Colony.—Governor Dudley holds his Court, which gives a Decision in favour of Owaneco, treating the Colony with Contempt.—Public Embarrassments.

In the mean time, the Assembly had exerted themselves to satisfy the claims of Owaneco and

the other Mohegans about their lands; and, with the greatest fairness and liberality, had made him an offer of a sum of money, with which he was perfectly content. But Mason and his friends contrived to render him dissatisfied, so that he refused to make any arrangement. One of the prominent charges made by Dudley against the colony was, that they had treated the Mohegans with injustice, particularly in conveying away all their lands in the late grant and patent to New-London: while the fact was, with their uniform regard to justice and humanity towards that tribe, they had carefully guarded the property and privileges of the Indians.

These and other misrepresentations respecting the Mohegans greatly deceived Queen Anne and her councillors, so that she appointed Governor Dudley, Thomas Povey, Esq., lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, Major Palms, and nine others, to examine and determine the whole affair, with liberty for any one to appeal to her majesty in council. This led the colony into a long and expensive controversy, which was wilfully brought upon it by its enemies: for, when a committee, sent by the Assembly this year to inquire and report, visited Owaneco, he refused to confer with them unless in the presence of Major Palms, while the latter absented himself at Boston, as if purposely to defeat their object.

The family of Deputy-governor Mason claimed the lands which he had purchased, under a deed from Uncas, given him in 1659, while acting as agent of the colony. They denied the legality of the surrender which he had made of them the fol-

lowing year. This surrender he made to the General Assembly, as he was bound to do, after having acted for them. They claimed, however, that he did not resign the property, but only the right of jurisdiction: a ground highly improbable, and totally inadmissible in the circumstances, in the absence of all evidence in its favour.

The 12th of February, 1705, was an important day for Connecticut: for the queen, without their knowledge, had appointed it for the time of hearing the charges of Governors Dudley and Cornbury. Sir Henry Ashurst had in vain endeavoured to obtain a postponement, that the colony might have time to send an answer; and, although the complainants had made all their arrangements, the case was to proceed without allowing any opportunity to prepare for a defence. The burden, therefore, fell upon Sir Henry; and he exerted himself with a degree of faithfulness and skill which should ever render his name honourable in the eyes of posterity. He obtained all the aid possible; and, being a brother by marriage to Lord Paget, that nobleman rendered him important assistance. The queen had been presented by Dudley with the opinion of King William's attorney-general, which said "that he might send a governor to Connecticut;" and with another from her attorney and solicitor general, which declared "that, if it were as Governor Dudley had represented, there was a defect in the government: that the colony was not able to defend itself, and in imminent danger of being possessed by the queen's enemies: and that, in such a case, the queen might



send a governor for civil and military government ; but not to alter the laws and customs."

Sir Henry, having been cited to appear and show reasons why a governor should not be appointed, occupied the queen and council an hour and a half with facts and arguments to prove that things were not "as Governor Dudley had represented, but, in many respects, quite the opposite." He showed what powers were conferred by the charter, and how some of the acts charged against the Assembly, as cases of unwarrantable assumption of authority, were perfectly right, and proofs of their faithfulness and zeal. Their refusal to give up the command of the militia to the governors, which had been much objected to, he proved to be perfectly right. One of the charges was, that the courts were irregular and unjust. To this Sir Henry gave a most conclusive reply : that, in every case of appeal to the crown, their decisions had been approved. Of course, nothing farther could be said against them. But Governor Dudley loudly complained of instances of the refusal to furnish the men and money which had been called for. To this it was replied, that the charter did not require them to send troops in such a case ; for they were under no obligation to obey the governors of other colonies, any farther than the crown should command. With regard to the supplies of money to Lord Cornbury, the Assembly, according to his lordship's own letter, had sent to her majesty to know her will. The replies of Sir Henry to other charges were not less direct and satisfactory than these ; and he added that, if governors should be appointed to the colonies, there would surely be no

less exposure to abuses, since the assemblies now stood ready to check them : but that the temptations would be increased by broader powers and diminished responsibility. He said that, in any case of impeachment of a governor, opportunity would doubtless be given him to be heard ; and justice required that Connecticut should now enjoy the same right.

This manly defence had the desired effect : for, after a full hearing, it was determined that the Lords of Trade should send to the governor of Connecticut the principal charges made against her ; and that the colony, as well as Dudley and Cornbury, should transmit their communications properly sealed and certified. This regular and public manner of proceeding was of all best calculated to suit the interests and feelings of Connecticut, and least palatable to her dishonest accusers. They had no evidence to produce which could bear a fair scrutiny, and had relied on making false impressions to gain their end. Connecticut, on the other hand, only needed time to make out a full account of facts, and to collect and authenticate the abundant testimony that was ready to be furnished, in order to present a mass of proof which could not be resisted. In fact, it effected the ruin to the one cause and the triumph of the other.

Connecticut proved that, instead of being unable to provide for the defence of her soil, or willing to decline any reasonable demand to protect her neighbours, she had then and in the preceding year between 500 and 600 men in actual service ; that 400 of them had been chiefly employed for the defence of Massachusetts and New-York ; and her

committee of war had conferred and acted spiritedly and harmoniously with officers and commissioners of Massachusetts. One of the documents sent to England to substantiate these facts was a letter in Governor Dudley's own hand, thanking Connecticut for her prompt and generous assistance in war. Many letters have been kept on file, as Trumbull remarks, in the office of the secretary of state in Hartford, from commanders, citizens, and clergymen in Hampshire county, proving the generous energy with which the colony had repeatedly afforded them important aid. Indeed, it was unanimously proved that, while Connecticut had a circulating currency worth scarcely £2000, she rendered assistance to Massachusetts and New-York, in three years, at an expense of more than that sum.

In the mean time, the accusing governors attempted to excite the feelings of the Friends or Quakers of England against the colony. Dudley had communicated a copy of an ancient law of Connecticut to the English Friends. The law had been passed about 50 years, when the Quakers were confounded with disorderly fanatics, and misunderstood. It had never been acted on, and was quite obsolete. A petition was sent to her majesty for the repeal of the law, as it denounced severe penalties against persons of that sect, or, rather, as Sir Henry Ashurst declared (in a petition to the Lords of Trade), against Adamites and Ranters. The queen, without allowing time for Connecticut to reply, annulled the law.

But Dudley was preparing for another step, to give the colony more trouble in her own territory.

Having been appointed president of the court formed by the queen to try the cause relating to the Mohegan country, he met the members at Stonington on the 23d of August, 1705. A survey had been made in July of the extensive tract in dispute, although an officer sent by the governor had forbidden it. The territory claimed was the whole of the Pequod country, except the principal residences of the tribe, which were certain tracts in New-London, Groton, and Stonington. The bounds of it were as follows: from a large rock in Connecticut River, near Eight-mile Island, in Lyme, eastward to Ah-yo-sup-puk Pond in Stonington; north to Mah-man-suck Pond; thence to the Whetstone Hills, or Egunk-sank-a-pong, and the Whetstone country, or Ma-hum-squeeg; thence southwest to the upper falls of Quinebaug River; nearly west to the Notch in the Mountain in Bolton, or Mo-she-nup-suck; and southerly back to the great rock in Lyme. Most of that part of the state which lay north of this tract, as has been before stated, the Mohegans claimed as conquered country, and called it Wabbequasset.

Governor Dudley's court consisted of himself, Edward Palms, Giles Sylvester, Jahaleel Brenton, Nathaniel Byfield, Thomas Hooker, James Avery, John Avery, John Morgan, and Thomas Leffingwell. The court summoned the Governor and Company of Connecticut to attend, and all parties concerned: but the government, not having been furnished with a copy of the commission under which they acted, sent a committee to attend, with instructions to answer, in case their object were to make inquiry merely; but, if they designed to de-

cide the question, to retire, and to forbid all people of the colony to bear witness, plead, or answer before them. The committee not only declined answering, but drew up a protest ; and the people interested in the lands failed to appear. The court, therefore, after a partial hearing of only a single day, with Owaneco sitting in state on the right hand of the president, with no evidence, claims, or opinions before them except those of interested persons and enemies of the colony, pronounced judgment, in violation of fair purchases, patents, deeds, rights of conquest, and possession. They gave to Owaneco a large tract in New-London, besides the tract of 1100 acres added to it in 1703 ; nine miles by two in Lyme ; and all Colchester. They also filed a bill of costs of £573 12s. 8d. against the colony.

The court afterward gave a hearing of three days to Owaneco, Mason, and other complainants ; after which they represented to the queen that Owaneco had been disseized of about 7000 acres of land north of Windham, and another in Plainfield ; and that encroachments had been made by Lebanon, Windham, and Canterbury. They forbade all persons to enter upon them until a farther hearing and determination of the case. They also appointed Captain Mason trustee or guardian of Owaneco and his people, and pretended that the Mohegans had been greatly oppressed : though 100 warriors (two thirds of the whole) cheerfully enlisted in the service this year, as they had done the last, showing that no dissatisfaction existed among them. Even Owaneco himself often appeared well content, except when under the im-

mediate influence of those who excited his jealousy from interested motives. Indeed, he had no good reason for dissatisfaction : for the government had treated him, as well as Uncas, with uniform justice and kindness, paying liberally for what land they had purchased, performing all their stipulations, and more than once interfering for the preservation of the tribe when in danger of subjugation or extirpation. Instead of not leaving the Mohegans land enough to plant, they had reserved between 4000 and 5000 acres for them between New-London and Norwich, strictly reserved and guarded in the patent granted to New-London. Nor had Connecticut exercised this liberality exclusively towards her most faithful ally, the Mohegan nation : reservations were made for the other Indians remaining in her territory ; and all of them had the privilege of hunting and fishing everywhere, and of building wigwams, and cutting wood and timber in all unenclosed lands.

The court of Governor Dudley adjourned till May, 1706 : but it never assembled again. The Assembly, in October, appointed a committee to inquire into the Indian affairs, and send information to Sir Henry Ashurst ; and he made so full a representation of facts relating to them, and to the intrigues, false charges, and other proceedings, of governors Dudley and Cornbury, that the queen, after some time, appointed a commission of review. This commission determined, but so late as 1645, in favour of Connecticut ; as was done at every legal hearing. It was, however, nearly seventy years before the case was finally settled, in the reign of George III.

In the year 1706, the same measures were taken as before for defence within and without the colony. The agent in England assured the Assembly that Connecticut could not be required to furnish more than a mere quota of troops at the requisition of the governor of another colony : yet, notwithstanding this, and the vexations to which they had been subject, they showed as much zeal for her service as ever. The embarrassments under which this was done, at the same time, greatly enhanced the testimony which it bore to the loyalty and liberal spirit of the colony : for the people were greatly impoverished by the many untoward events of past months. The taxes of about three years had amounted to more than two shillings on a pound, or ten per cent. of all taxable property ; and money was so scarce that payments were made in the products of farms, such as beef, pork, grain, &c., which were received, sold in Boston or the West Indies, and cash or bills of exchange were thus obtained, to pay the debts of the colony at home and abroad.

The peculiarly trying and dangerous period through which we have thus accompanied the colony, with such particularity as its importance and interest required, deserves to be held in remembrance, and often contemplated by the present generation, who share the benefits of her success. We see the defenders of her institutions beset by a succession of threatening dangers, some of them of a nature as unexpected as alarming, yet displaying the equanimity, moderation, fortitude, and perseverance which were so characteristic of that people, and persisting to the last in asserting,

claiming, proving, and maintaining their rights. In the whole progress of the business, they exhibited that intelligent discrimination which is the legitimate result of a system of sound education in human learning and in the Word of God, and which may be looked for in vain in those countries in which these inestimable privileges are not enjoyed by the people at large. It was education, in its extensive sense, which, under the blessing of God, so often prevented the people of Connecticut from being hurried into fatal mistakes, and sinking into that lethargic indifference to their rights and interests which has proved fatal to so many other states and people. Paramount to all, they possessed that unshaken confidence in the Almighty which they had been so well taught by the example of their fathers, and which led them to notice every important turn in the aspect of affairs with devout and humble submission to God.

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## CHAPTER XXIX. 1707.

A new Alarm of a French and Indian Invasion.—Neighbouring Indians suspected and watched.—Governor Saltonstall elected on the Death of Governor Winthrop.—General Nicholson's Expedition against the French in 1709.—His Army is wasted by Sickness at Wood Creek, while waiting for the British Fleet.—It does not arrive.—The first Paper Money issued by Connecticut.—Early Printing in Connecticut.—Spirit of the French in their Incursions.—The Colonies compelled to seek their Reduction for Self-preservation.

ABOUT the beginning of the year 1707, Mr. Treat and Major Schuyler sent letters informing



the government, that the French and Indians were again mustering their forces to invade the colonies, which caused new alarm. A council of war met on the 6th of February at Hartford; and the alarm was increased by a suspicion that the Pohtatuck and Owiantuck Indians were ready to join the enemy on their appearance.

Orders were given to fortify the western towns, which were then on the frontier of New-York, viz., Simsbury, Waterbury, Woodbury, and Danbury, and to keep daily scouts of two men in each, to give the earliest information of the approach of an enemy. The suspected Indians, or, at least, their chief men, were ordered to be removed to Stratford and Fairfield.

To give the enemy employment at home, or, rather, to drive the French from Canada, Governor Dudley wrote to Connecticut that he proposed to send 1000 men against L'Acadie, or their eastern possessions, and invited her to co-operate: but this was declined, partly because the other colonies appeared not to have been invited.

Governor Fitz John Winthrop died this year; and a special meeting of the Assembly was called in December, at which the Rev. Gurdon Saltonstall was elected in his place. Governor Winthrop was one of the most distinguished, useful, and popular men of the colony. He was born at Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1638, and son of the first governor of Connecticut under the charter. He became a magistrate in 1689, major-general of the army against Canada in 1690, agent to England in 1694, and governor in 1698; after which he was annually re-elected to the chief-magistracy until

his death. The Assembly repealed the law requiring a candidate for governor to be first nominated from among the magistrates. At the election in May, Governor Saltonstall was re-elected by the freemen; and, Mr. Treat having retired from office at the age of 86, Nathan Gould was chosen deputy-governor.

Jonathan Scott and his two sons were taken captive in a meadow in Waterbury by a few Indians, who carried them to Canada. They were afterward redeemed and returned, except the younger son, who chose to live with the savages. In 1700, during an attack by the Indians, a man named Holt was killed on Mount Toby.

Hebron, New-Fairfield, Newtown, and Killingly were incorporated in 1706 and 1707.

The churches first formed in Connecticut were Congregational, according to the plan or platform adopted at Cambridge. Every organized band of Christians they regarded as a church, invested with power to manage its own concerns, according to the system which they believed to have been established by the apostles. The pastor and ruling elders proposed measures to the members, which they agreed to or rejected. At the same time, the churches were not considered independent in all respects, but bound to maintain fellowship with each other, and consult and give advice in cases of difficulty. As the Cambridge platform, however, did not make precise provision for the assembling of councils of advice, the trustees of the college proposed that a meeting of ministers should be held to remedy the evil; and, in 1708, a plan was adopted at Saybrook, on the general principles

of that of Cambridge. This was known by the name of the Saybrook Platform; and was immediately adopted by the churches. The General Assembly passed a resolution, declaring that they wished to see every church in the enjoyment of perfect freedom of conscience, and were gratified that a measure had been taken so well calculated to promote harmony and improvement.

About the year 1708 or 1709 Thomas Short, the first printer in Connecticut, took up his residence in New-London. He printed the Saybrook Platform in 1710, the first book ever printed in the colony, and died soon after. In 1713, the Assembly induced Timothy Green to remove to that town to do the public printing. Printing was begun in New-London forty-five years earlier than any other part of Connecticut.

In 1706 the clergy were declared by law to be free from taxation. This year the Assembly ordered that the "ministers of the Gospel preach a sermon to the freemen on the day appointed by law to choose their civil rulers, in the towns where they meet, proper for their direction in the work before them;" and it cannot be doubted that the practice long had a happy influence in preserving the purity of elections, by impressing the people and their officers with a becoming regard for their duties in the sight of God. Party-spirit, selfish views in seeking and exercising offices, and that political madness which sometimes hurries a majority towards ruin, cannot be long and successfully guarded against without religious principle.

The same military arrangements were made as last year: but in October it was ordered that gar-

risons should be kept at the public expense : two at Simsbury and two at Waterbury ; and that Woodbury and Danbury should be garrisoned, if the council of war should so direct.

An expedition against Canada, L'Acadie, and Newfoundland was proposed by the queen in 1709, consisting of a squadron, with five regiments and a provincial army, of which she required Connecticut to raise 350 men. The eastern colonies were to raise 1200 men, and furnish them with transports, boats, and provisions for three months ; and these forces were to go by sea to attack Quebec ; while 1500 men from New-York, New-Jersey, and the southern colonies, including those from Connecticut, were to make a descent on the island of Montreal. Colonel Whiting was soon put in command of the troops raised in Connecticut ; and all the other colonies, except Pennsylvania, complied with the queen's orders. Connecticut issued bills of credit at a special Assembly in June. The land-army, under General Francis Nicholson, marched to Wood Creek, and waited for the fleet to arrive at Boston (but waited in vain) until autumn ; when, after losing about one quarter of their number by disease, and no news being received, the army returned to Albany. The fleet had been sent to assist the Portuguese, the allied armies in Europe having been greatly reduced. Thus another fruitless campaign, into which the colonies were drawn by the disputes of Europe, brought great calamities upon them, with no benefit. War, in almost all its forms, is a scourge of man ; and one of its worst influences is that upon public morals. We shall see hereafter that this effect was greatly de-

plored. Connecticut lost above ninety soldiers in this expensive season ; and some of the survivors, no doubt, returned home deteriorated in character by a summer spent in idleness, and among the society of such men as have composed the bulk of most armies.

The colony had now in circulation the first paper money ever issued by it. The act declared, "That, to assist in the expedition, for want of money otherwise to carry it on, there be forthwith imprinted a certain number of bills of credit on the colony, in suitable sums, from two shillings to five pounds, which, in the whole, shall amount to the sum of £8000 and no more." They were to be received at the treasury as one shilling on the pound better than money, though issued at par ; only £4000 was to be issued at first ; and taxes were laid for the payment of £4000 in one year, and the other £4000 in two years. Probably the people found this money very convenient, and, of course, useful, instead of the exchange of commodities to which they had been accustomed. This plan was afterward adopted many times ; and, when the colony was unable to pay its notes, embarrassment of course ensued.

The wars between the colonies and the French grew out of the claim which both England and France made to the territory occupied by the latter. The European nations which had engaged in the settlement of America, had agreed to acknowledge each others' claims so far as they were founded on first discovery. But there was often some room left for pretexts on which more than one might claim a particular region. The discoverers

themselves did not know the form or extent of the lands they had discovered, especially in the interior; and this was as true of the English discoverers as of any. Still, if the French had been inclined to practise Christian honesty, and credited the reports of the old English discoverers, they would have laid no claim to the countries which they occupied north of the English colonies. On the other hand, if both parties had been inclined to peace, and so honourable as to prefer justice to gain, they would doubtless have submitted the question to the decision of some disinterested umpire, if such could have been found. But, in the changeable and generally hostile relations of the two nations, this was hardly possible. It would have been reasonable, however, to expect of both parties humanity towards each other. But the French early began to excite the savages against the English colonists; and, for about 100 years, wars were carried on against them of the most treacherous and cruel nature. The French rulers in Canada would persuade the Indians to burn their settlements, and murder or carry away the people, men, women, and children; and this they practised in numerous instances. Had the English colonists followed their example with their spirit, we should have had reason to blush for them, and to expect the punishment of God to be visited severely upon their descendants. But the French settlements were never harassed in that wanton and bloodthirsty manner. Who ever heard of French women or children taken by our fathers by surprise or ambush, carried to Massachusetts or Connecticut, treated as slaves, and sold back to their friends at exorbitant prices? What Englishman, especially what English minis-

ter, ever led a band of Indians against a defenceless French village in the night, to burn, murder, and make captives, insulting or tomahawking those with whom they were at enmity? This was what the French, and even their priests, often did, and excited the Indians to do. So long had the colonists suffered from injuries of this kind, that they thought themselves justifiable, in the sight of the God they served, in endeavours to check the power of their enemies by force. They did not attempt to make reprisals, nor take up arms in revenge: their principles would not allow them to take such a course; and history proves how firmly they adhered to the rules of the Gospel. Consequently, while their descendants in the ancient frontier towns may trace the scenes of severe contests and dreadful sufferings, there is hardly to be found, on any part of the French frontier, a place spotted with the blood of innocent men, women, or children, wantonly shed by their hands.

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### CHAPTER XXX. 1709.

Application to the Queen for Aid against Canada, and a Promise obtained.—Preparations made.—The Fleet arrives ill prepared, and with limited Instructions.—Port Royal captured.—General Nicholson makes a new Application to her Majesty.—Another Fleet arrives, but unprovided.—It is half destroyed by a Storm, on the way to attack the Enemy.—The Boundary of Connecticut and Massachusetts amicably settled by Commissioners in 1713.—The Rhodé Island Boundary Line.—The Peace of Utrecht, in 1713, causes great Joy.—Population.—Finances.—Other Statistics.

NOTWITHSTANDING the failure of the expedition of 1699, the governors of the colonies agreed to

hold a meeting, to consult on another. They met at Rehoboth, Massachusetts, in October, with several officers, and addressed the queen in a letter, which the Assembly of Connecticut approved; and Governor Saltonstall was appointed to take a similar one to England. He, however, did not go: but General Nicholson sailed to request aid from her majesty; while Colonel Schuyler, of Albany, in his zeal for another enterprise, took five Indian chiefs from the Five Nations, and introduced them at court.

A promise was finally obtained; and in July letters were sent, saying that Lord Shannon was coming with a fleet. In about a month, 300 men were on their march from Connecticut to Boston, where vessels and sailors were ready. On the 18th of December, 36 ships left Nantasket for Port Royal, nothing having been done or required by England for a land army, as it appeared that nothing was designed against Canada, but only against the eastern French possessions. The troops landed at Port Royal on the 24th; on the 21st of October they opened three batteries; and the next day Subercase, the commander, surrendered the fort. The Mary galley, one of the five transports hired by Connecticut, was lost, with 26 men; and the colony paid for it about £1000. The expedition then returned.

The result being very unsatisfactory, General Nicholson again applied in person to the queen, although the ministry was then Tory; and, contrary to the expectations of the people, was successful.

A meeting of governors was held at New-Loa-



don in June; and, in a short time, the promised fleet arrived, but without provisions or pilots, which led to the conviction that the ministry did not aim at the reduction of Canada, but only at a limited enterprise, in which they rather desired failure and an occasion to cast blame on the colonies. However, the colonies resolved to do their best; and, in little more than a month, the troops and provisions were ready. Connecticut raised 360 men, and sent them to Albany, with a vessel and four months' provision, and transmitted letters of thanks to the queen and General Nicholson. Everything was got ready with great despatch; and the fleet sailed from Boston on the 30th of July. It consisted of 15 men-of-war, 40 transports, and 6 store-ships, with a train of artillery, stores, and 7 regiments, or nearly 7000 men. Admiral Walker commanded the fleet, and Brigadier Hill the land forces. General Nicholson, a few days later, was at the head of 4000 men at Albany, intending to proceed to Canada by Lake Champlain. Connecticut furnished to New-York 200 fat cattle and 600 sheep. All these preparations had been made in about five weeks.

But we have a sad tale to tell of the fleet. It was assailed by a terrible storm from the east-southeast on the 22d of August, after leaving the Bay of Gaspé, which the commanders endeavoured to weather by lying-to, but in vain. Being in deep water and a thick fog, they could not discover their exact situation until midnight, when they found themselves near the rocky shore. Eight or nine transports were destroyed, with about 1000 men: though not a man was lost from the prov-

inces. Most of the remaining vessels being prevented for several days, by an east wind, from reaching the admiral's ship, which had gone on to Spanish River Bay, the officers concluded that they had not provisions enough to proceed; and most of the ships returned to England. General Nicholson, on hearing the news, marched his army back. Blame was cast on the colonies for delay: how unjustly it is easy to understand. It is certain that they had done their best; and they were chagrined at the failure, and apprehensive of suffering worse than ever from their enemies, especially the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the governor of Canada, who had an army of 8000 men, which he had raised for defence, and might use for invasion.

The Assembly, in November, petitioned the queen for one more expedition against the enemy, and sent John Mayhew to London, the only Connecticut pilot who had been employed in the fleet, to testify concerning the causes of its failure: but no attention was paid to the subject.

In 1711 the Superior Court was ordered to sit twice a year, in each county; and the next year the judges were first allowed salaries, having before received only fees.

The copper mine at Simsbury was opened about the year 1712, by William Partridge, of Newbury, and Jonathan Belcher, of Boston; and the miners were exempted from military duty for four years.

New-Milford was incorporated in 1712, and Coventry and Pomfret in 1713.

This year (1713) the long and lamentable controversy of the Massachusetts boundary was finally and amicably settled, after many vain attempts on

the part of Connecticut. To avoid the expense and uncertainty of an appeal to England, where, since Sir Henry Ashurst's death, Connecticut had no able friend to oppose the intrigues of Governor Dudley, propositions were made to Massachusetts. That colony consented that the line should be run by commissioners appointed by both parties, and fully empowered; that property should be secured to grantees, and the jurisdiction of towns retained by the colonies which had planted them; and that, if it should on either side transcend the boundary, amends should be made by giving as much land elsewhere. If a tract of two miles in Suffield, which had been long claimed by Windsor, should fall south of the line, it was agreed that it should belong to Connecticut. The line was then run, and crossed Connecticut River 90 rods north of the northeast corner of Suffield, throwing into Connecticut 107,793 acres which Massachusetts had encroached upon. That amount was consequently made up, and the exchanged land was afterward sold for £683 currency (or a little above one farthing per acre), and the money given to Yale College.

To settle the Rhode Island boundary, Connecticut, in 1702, had relinquished her claim to the Narraganset country, though she still believed it to be perfectly just. It would have been very expensive to prosecute it in England; and the feelings of the court were known to be so unfavourable to charter privileges, that little was to be hoped from the appeal. Besides, the land was then of but very little value; and the loss of so much territory would have been fatal to Rhode Island. The Assembly, therefore, being determined to comply with

Winthrop and Clark's agreement, and close the controversy, appointed a committee to settle it. In 1703 it was agreed, with the commissioners of Rhode Island, that the line should run along the middle of Pawcatuck River to the Ashaway, thence in a straight line to the southwest corner of Warwick grand purchase, and thence north to Massachusetts. Grants before made in Westerly were to be preserved, and property to be maintained. This agreement, however, was disowned by Rhode Island about the year 1713, confirmed some years after by the king, and finally marked out in 1728.

Great joy was diffused in the colonies by the news of the peace of Utrecht, which was formally proclaimed by the governor and council on the 26th of August, 1713; and the people began to enjoy another respite from the sufferings and fears of war. Danger being now removed, the soldiers might return to their homes, and support themselves by cultivating their land in security, while the colony might begin to relieve itself from debt. New settlements might be made, and persons who had fled from the frontiers might safely return. Providence had again mercifully protected Connecticut from the enemy, as in the two preceding wars of William and Anne. Only one town had been destroyed in all the wars; and that was Simsbury, which was burned after it had been deserted by the inhabitants, who had buried their furniture and goods. This was probably in Philip's War. The colony, in Queen Anne's War, had paid 7*d.* and 8*d.* on the pound on the whole list, and issued bills of credit to the amount of £33,500 since

June, 1709, which was to be called in within seven years.

The population of the colony was now about 17,000; the army nearly 4000; the grand list, £281,083; the taxable towns, 38; those sending deputies, 40; and the whole number of representatives, 80. The colony owned 2 brigantines, about 20 sloops, &c., and not above 120 seamen. Some tar, pitch, turpentine, and fur were sent to England: but most of the produce to Boston, New-York, and the West Indies. Suffield, Enfield, and Woodstock were within the territory, but governed by Massachusetts. The two former at first belonged to Springfield, all of which town would have been in Connecticut if the line had been run according to the expectation of the planters.

Economy in government has always been a remarkable feature in Connecticut. The governor's salary was then £400, the deputy-governor's £50, and the whole expenses of government, including these, probably not over £500, or less than the common salary paid to a king's governor.

The first permanent printer came to Connecticut in 1713. He was Timothy Green, a descendant of Samuel Green, of Cambridge, Massachusetts. He was induced to remove to New-London by an offer from the Assembly of £50 annually for doing the public printing. His descendants long held the same office in that town.

## CHAPTER XXXI. 1714.

**The Origin of Yale College.—Sketch of its History.—Common Schools.—A College and Grammar School provided for in New-Haven.—Yale College first placed at Killingworth.—Removed to Saybrook.—Controversy arising out of a Proposal to remove it from Saybrook to New-Haven.—Established there.—Rector Cutler dismissed, and the Saybrook Confession introduced.—Law of the Colony to prevent irregular Meetings on the Sabbath, and the Abuse of the Sacraments.—Mining Privileges granted to Mr. Winthrop.—Mines opened at Simsbury and Wallingford.—Newgate Prison.—First Counterfeiting in the Colony.**

THE founders of Connecticut were among the most devoted friends of general education the world ever saw. They believed that the cultivation of the mind was a duty incumbent on all, and required by the Word of God, whose book of revelation not only demands, but presupposes the instruction of the intellect. They considered it a public benefit to educate every member of society, and required their magistrates to provide for this important object. As early as the year 1648, twelve years after the first settlement of the colony, the Assembly passed a law providing for common education. It has been affirmed that this was the first common school law ever made in the world. It required the establishment of a good school in every town containing 50 families, in which reading and writing should be not only taught, but "well taught." It also required that every county-town should have a good grammar-school. Not content with adopting the law, the

Assembly, with their characteristic practical good sense, appropriated large tracts of land for the permanent support of the schools through generations to come.

But even here was not the limit of the foresight of the government, and their wise provisions for the dissemination of learning. They gave the great and almost solitary example of family instruction required by law. They directed the selectmen to see that the heads of families should teach their children and servants to read well, and to catechise them on religion once every week; and on this point showed that they were in earnest, by fining every family 20 shillings which should neglect these duties. That there might be no excuse for neglect, the selectmen were authorized to furnish Bibles and books to the destitute. The law farther required that the capital laws should be taught once a week in every family.

We have seen how annual contributions were made for a course of years towards the support of Cambridge College. Connecticut was all this time delaying to establish a college of her own, only until her resources should be adequate to the task. As early as 1654 an application was made to the New-Haven Assembly for a college; and the next year New-Haven offered £300, and Milford £100 for its endowment. Mr. Davenport wrote to Mr. Hopkins, in London, in favour of the enterprise; and New-Haven gave a considerable amount of land.

In 1659 that Assembly took a preparatory step, and founded a grammar-school in New-Haven, appropriating £100 for the purchase of books, and

£40 a year. In 1660 Mr. Davenport presented Mr. Hopkins's donation; and the elders of the churches in that colony were appointed trustees. Both the college and the school, however, failed, in consequence of the insufficiency of funds, the dissensions with Connecticut, and the union of the colonies. At a later period the school was re-established, and endowed with all the funds.

In 1698 it was proposed by several ministers that a college should be founded in Connecticut, as it had long been found inconvenient to send young men to Massachusetts for their education. They considered the apostles and their successors as having set the example, by founding institutions for the education of ministers wherever the Gospel was introduced. Messrs. Pierpont, of New-Haven, Andrew, of Milford, and Russell, of Branford, were leaders in the plan: so that Yale College, which was the result of it, appears to have owed its origin chiefly to the old New-Haven colony. In 1699 ten ministers were nominated as trustees, who met at New-Haven in 1700, and formed a society, with the addition of a rector to their number. They met afterward at Branford, where they founded the college, by a contribution of about 40 folio volumes: each saying, as he presented his books, "I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony."

The trustees were Messrs. Noyes, of Stonington, Chauncey, of Stratford, Buckingham, of Saybrook, Pierson, of Killingworth, Mather, of Windsor, Andrew, of Milford, Woodbridge, of Hartford, Pierpont, of New-Haven, Russell, of Middletown, and Webb, of Fairfield. Mr. Russell was appointed



ed librarian. Other donations having been made, they petitioned the Assembly for a charter, stating

"That, from a sincere regard to, and zeal for upholding the Protestant religion, by a succession of learned and orthodox men, they had proposed that a collegiate school should be erected in this colony, wherein youth should be instructed in all parts of learning, to qualify them in public employments in church and state."

James Fitch, Esq., of Norwich, a member of the council, advocated the petition, and made a donation of about 600 acres of land in Killingly, and promised to furnish the glass and nails "for a college-house and hall." The Assembly, in 1701, granted the petition, limited the corporation to ministers, and the number of trustees to eleven, making a grant of £120, or about £60 sterling. In November the Rev. Abraham Pierson was chosen rector, and rules were adopted. These forbade instruction in any system of divinity except that appointed; and the pupils were to be "caused memoriter to recite the Assembly's shorter catechism in Latin, and Dr. Ames's Theological Theses, of which, as also Ames's Cases of Conscience, he (the rector) shall cause to be made, from time to time, such explanations as may, through the blessing of God, be most conducive to their establishment in the principles of the Christian Protestant religion." The Scriptures were to be read daily by the pupils, at morning and evening prayer, except the Sabbath, when practical theology was to be expounded, and the non-graduated students were to repeat sermons. The corporation agreed to open the college at Saybrook, although not satisfied that it ought to re-

main there. The rector's congregation, however, were so unwilling to part with him, that he taught the pupils at Killingworth.

The college building was on Saybrook Point, on the north side of the street, nearly opposite the burying-ground: but it was used only for a short time, as the place was thought to be inconvenient, and propositions were soon made for the choice of another situation. This caused dissatisfaction for some years among several clergymen, as well as laymen, which, however, at length subsided, after its establishment at New-Haven. Exertions were made to have it fixed at Hartford and Wethersfield. The largest amount of contributions being offered at New-Haven, and that place being considered a more cheap and healthful residence, and one more accessible to students from other colonies, it was recommended by the Assembly, in 1717, that "the collegiate school" should be removed thither, and that they should finish the house which had been begun for its accommodation. The Assembly voted £100 to the instructors.

In 1714 Mr. Dummer collected a valuable library from friends in England. Forty of the volumes were given by Governor Yale; who, in 1718, sent over £200 worth of goods from England, to be sold for the benefit of the college, with a picture of the king and his arms, and a promise of more presents in future. Governor Saltonstall, and Mr. Benton, of Providence, gave £50 a piece. The building erected at New-Haven was of three stories, 170 feet by 22, with nearly 50 study rooms, a hall, library, and kitchen, and cost about £1000 sterling. The Commencement was held on the 12th

of September. The institution this year received the name of Yale College, from gratitude to its principal benefactor. Governor Saltonstall pronounced a Latin oration; and eight bachelors' and several masters' degrees were conferred. The Rev. Messrs. Woodbridge and Buckingham held a Commencement the same day at Wethersfield, and resistance was made at Saybrook to the removal of the books: but these lamentable proceedings were wisely passed over without public censure, and the breach among the leading friends of education was soon healed. Mr. Woodbridge was made rector pro tempore. The Assembly gave the instructors £40 a year for seven years, and ordered £800 worth of new land to be sold.

In 1719, the Rev. Timothy Cutler, pastor of the church at Hartford, was chosen rector of Yale College: but in 1722 he was found to be an Episcopalian, and to have formed the intention of going to England to be ordained, with Mr. Brown, one of the tutors, Mr. Johnson, minister of West Haven, and Mr. Wetmore, of North Haven. The trustees of the college and the people were surprised, having had no suspicion of such things. The rector was excused, after holding a public discussion with Governor Saltonstall at Commencement. The trustees, in October, resolved that rectors and tutors should in future declare their assent to the Saybrook Confession, and give satisfaction of the soundness of their faith against Arminian and prelatical doctrines, &c.

The four gentlemen above mentioned were ordained in England; where they were treated with great honour by the friends of the Established

Church; and three of them returned: Mr. Cutler as a missionary in Boston, Mr. Johnson at Stratford, and Mr. Wetmore at Rye. This was the first introduction of Episcopacy into the territory of Connecticut.

To supply the place of rector, the trustees of Yale College spent a month each in turn at New-Haven till 1726, when the Rev. Elisha Williams, minister at Newington, entered on the duties of that office. Newington, in compensation for the loss of its minister, was paid £100. by the Assembly, and was released from taxes for several years. The manners and characters of the students rapidly improved under the direction of Rector Williams; and improvements were made in the schools, as well as by the settlement of new towns; and in other respects the colony flourished during the times of peace which continued to prevail.

In 1726 a law was passed laying a fine of twenty shillings on every person who should attend a meeting in a private house on the Sabbath, and neglect public worship, on conviction before any assistant or justice of the peace; and ten pounds, and corporeal punishment not exceeding thirty lashes, on any person, not a regularly ordained minister, who should administer the sacraments, on conviction before the county court. This law has often been decried on account of its intolerance; and it was doubtless highly objectionable, and much to be condemned. The intention of the Assembly in making it, however, appears to have been not to prevent those sincerely holding religious opinions different from those of the people gener-

ally from worshipping God in any proper manner. The only restraint laid upon such was this : they were required to ask permission, and it was granted them. The preamble to the law we have mentioned declares that, "notwithstanding the liberty allowed by law, both to ministers and people, to worship God according to their own consciences, there are some persons who, without qualifying themselves as the law directs for the enjoyment of such liberty," form separate meetings and neglect public worship ; and others, not ordained in any manner, have assembled "in a tumultuous manner, and abuse and profane the sacraments." Some of these, it appears, especially the Rogerenes, as they were called, set decency at defiance, by appearing in a riotous manner, nearly naked, in churches during worship, insulting and interrupting courts, &c., so that they would have been punished in any civilized country. It seems plain, therefore, that the law was passed to suppress immorality, and by no means to abridge any right of conscience.

For some time after the first settlement of Connecticut, it would seem, there were expectations entertained by some that great mineral treasures would be discovered. Probably this expectation was the greater, in consequence of the immense wealth yielded to the Spaniards by the mines of the South. Governor Winalow, it will be recollected, had explored the colony extensively in search of valuable minerals ; and in 1712, Messrs. Partridge and Belcher had opened the copper mine in Simsbury. The heirs of the proprietor of the Wallingford mine, at the same time, undertook to work it in common : but, after six years, they had

involved themselves in such disputes and difficulties, that the Assembly passed an act in 1718, authorizing the proprietors of copper mines, or such of them as should choose to act in the case, to form an association, and conduct the business through a clerk, agents, &c., to refer disputes to three commissioners appointed by the Assembly, with the power of appeal to that body. The Wallingford mine was worked a while, till the water prevented farther progress.

The Simsbury mine having passed into the hands of Andrew Fresman and Charles Cornelia, of New-York, in 1721 the Assembly appointed commissioners to divide it among several lessees, with authority to settle disputes, &c. ; but the vein was exhausted after it had been followed to a considerable depth, and never yielded much profit. The excavations were afterward used as a prison for many years, and called Newgate, in which, according to the erroneous system so universal in Europe as well as America until the recent reformation in prison discipline, convicts were plunged in gloom and darkness, and cut off from almost all the means of improvement, while they were exposed to the worst sort of contamination—the society of each other.

The first attempts to counterfeit the money of the colony are mentioned about the year 1735, when, to avoid its ill effects, a new emission was made of paper bills, of £5, 10s., and 20s., to the amount of £20,000. The care taken to guard against a surplus of paper money prevented it from depreciating before the Spanish war in 1740.

## CHAPTER XXXII. 1715.

The Repeal of the Charter apprehended.—The Danger removed.—Rallé's War between the Eastern Indians and the Colonies.—Previous Exertions of Governor Shute to conciliate and instruct them.—Intrigues of Rallé.—Dissensions in the Massachusetts Legislature.—Attempt to seize him.—The second Expedition rout the Indians, and Rallé is killed.—Peace sought by the Indians, and amicable Relations established.—Dissensions and Mob in Connecticut about Land-claims.—Settled by a Division.—Manufactures and Products.

New dangers to the charter appeared in 1715, when a bill was brought into the Parliament of England to repeal the charters of all the colonies. Mr. Dummer, the agent in London, was instructed how to proceed ; and he made so powerful a plea, and sustained it with such facts, that the king in council gave a favourable decision, and the colony was relieved from the apprehension of arbitrary interference. There was room for fear, however, on another side ; for seven of the lords proprietors of the Carolinas had agreed to resign their titles and to give up the jurisdiction to his majesty, and an act of Parliament had passed authorizing the king to purchase the land. Massachusetts also had refused a permanent salary to Governors Shute and Burnet, and otherwise so treated them that the king had censured the colony, and there was reason to think her charter might be revoked as the former one had been. Besides, John Winthrop, son of the late governor, had gone to England to appeal against the courts of the colony, for settling

his father's estate in favour of his sister, Mrs. Lynchmere. On an ex-parte hearing in England, the law of the colony respecting intestate estates was repealed, because it did not secure the property to male heirs. This threw the colony into great alarm; and Jonathan Belcher was appointed an assistant agent to act with Mr. Dummer in England, and to petition in favour of the law.

In 1719 the House of Commons declared "that the erecting manufactories in the colonies tended to lessen *their dependance* upon Great Britain."

In 1729 the Assembly addressed their agents a most anxious letter, in which they expressed great fears about the charter: but it appears that all these dangers soon passed away; the abrogated law was restored, and the charter was left untouched; for the God in whom the colony peculiarly trusted again interposed in their favour. The agents were the same year dismissed; and, in 1780, Francis Wilkes, of London, was appointed in their place. Mr. Belcher, who had been made governor of Massachusetts, arrived at Boston in August, and assumed the duties of that office.

The Penobscot Indians, inhabiting Maine, who had long been the enemies of the colonies, in consequence of the influence exercised over them, by which they had been brought into superstitious subjection, soon broke out again into hostility, and caused great injury and loss, especially to the colonies in their immediate neighbourhood. It was well known that the French, as well as the Spaniards, in their operations among heathen of different countries, pursued one general plan, by which they gained an ascendancy over those who sub-



mitted to them, like that which is exerted over the ignorant populace of Spain and Italy, and by similar means, viz., by making them superstitious, and by keeping them in ignorance, especially of the Scriptures. It was a fundamental doctrine with the descendants of the Pilgrims, as it had been of the Pilgrims themselves, that the Word of God was the only proper source of intellectual and moral light, and that true civilization must necessarily follow wherever it went before. This doctrine had been supported by their own experience: for, so far as the Indians in the colonies had embraced the Bible, they had derived from it the happiest benefits.

Knowing that the eastern Indians, the Penobscots especially, would be their implacable enemies so long as they should remain under the influence of the French priests, and wishing, on account of the savages, as well as their own, to avoid the war which now threatened, Massachusetts made great exertions, in the year 1717, to acquire their confidence, and to teach them some of the truths so doubly important to them at that conjuncture. General Shute proceeded to Arowsick Fort, accompanied by several members of the councils of Massachusetts and New Hampshire and other gentlemen, and had a conference with the Penobscots. He presented them with one of Eliot's Bibles, in English and Indian, and recommended to them a minister who was in his company: but, as might have been expected, they declined the offer, giving the preference to their own teacher, (though he never taught them even to read); and did not receive the Bible, which, indeed, could have done them no good until they could read it.

The governor then proceeded to hear the complaints of the Indians; and many of them, acting at first at the direction of the Jesuit Rallé, disavowed the treaty of 1718, by which they had sold land east of the Kennebeck, and were near proceeding to hostilities: but the old men interposed, the treaty was acknowledged, and they parted as friends. The hostile Indians, however, threatened the frontier villages so much for several years, that they were deserted for a considerable time. Governor Shute in vain proposed to the House of Representatives 'many pacific measures to conciliate the Indians: there was a party blindly opposed to him; and the intrigues of the French, and the ill conduct of some of the Indian traders, irritated them so much that they finally broke out again in hostility. Some of them took Canoe, in Nova Scotia, in 1720; and the French assisted in carrying away the plunder. It had just been settled by people from Massachusetts; and the loss was about £20,000: yet the governor of Louisburg refused to make any redress.

The Massachusetts House of Representatives were eager for energetic measures against the leaders of the hostile Indians, especially against Rallé, whom they considered their chief instigator, and who treated the English with contempt and hatred: but the governor and council still opposed them; and it was not till November, 1721, that a party was sent to capture him. They found Norridgewock deserted, and got nothing but some of Rallé's papers. The governor of Canada now exerted himself against the colonies, and engaged the Indians in his neighbourhood to make a gen-

eral war. Brunswick in Maine was burned, and several other places were attacked. War was declared by the governor of Massachusetts on the 25th of July, 1722; and 300 men were sent against the Indians.

Connecticut was called upon to furnish men and ammunition, by letters from the governors of Massachusetts and New-York, who proposed, as an alternative, that the militia should be placed under their command. The Assembly, however, refused, on the ground that there was no such invasion as could require the aid of all the colonies, expressing their readiness to afford assistance in any such case of necessity. They, however, sent fifty men to garrison and scout in Hampshire county, and others to their own frontiers. Governor Shute having left Massachusetts in disgust early in 1723, Lieutenant-Governor Dummer prosecuted the war, and attempted, though in vain, to enlist the Five Nations against the enemy, who continued their murders and depredations, and kept in alarm the extensive line from the eastern part of Maine to the western part of Massachusetts. Fifty Connecticut soldiers were withdrawn from the fort in Northfield, Massachusetts, at an ill time, in October: for it was attacked the next day by seventy Indians, who killed and wounded several of those who remained. In the winter more papers of Rallé fell into the hands of Captain Moulton, who marched to Norridgewock with a party of men, hoping to surprise the place. From these it clearly appeared that he was indeed the chief mover of the Indians to war. Captain Moulton left the village and church without injury. This act of humanity and moderation was the more

commendable, because the war was unprovoked, and carried on at a time when the two mother countries were at peace.

Before this time, viz., in October, the Connecticut Assembly had directed that inquiries should be made of the government of Massachusetts concerning the origin and prospects of the contest; and that, in case of danger, a committee of war should be formed, authorized to send out sixty white troops and sixty Indians. The enemy continued their attacks, killed a number of people in different places, and at length undertook a cruise along the coast of Maine in a captured schooner, armed with two swivels; and, although a small force was sent against them, they were not reduced, but took many more vessels and prisoners.

On the 23d of August, however, a band of 208 men, under the command of Captains Harman, Moulton, and Bourne, struck a fatal blow, by capturing Norridgewock by surprise, and destroying most of the warriors there. Rallé was numbered among the slain after the engagement. He had brought a most harassing and cruel war upon the eastern colonies, through antipathy to the friends of truth and liberty, as the people believed. He was shot, however, in disobedience to the express orders of the commandér, who greatly deplored his destruction in that manner, although he had merited his reward. Besides his other atrocious conduct, an English boy of fourteen was found in his wigwam, whom he had kept a prisoner six months, and had shot through the thigh and stabbed, but who afterward recovered. The excuse given for killing Rallé contrary to orders was that he was

loading his gun, and refused to give or receive quarter. The English killed several women and children in this battle ; being maddened, like wild beasts, by the inhuman business of war.

The Massachusetts troops now traversed Maine in different directions, but found no Indians. Several parts of that colony, however, were harassed so much, that Colonel Stoddard came to Hartford to urge the Assembly to assist in prosecuting the war : but he was told that Connecticut was not fully satisfied of the justice of it, although Governor Saltonstall, at the request of Massachusetts, had been in Boston to make inquiries. The request was therefore refused ; and this probably had some influence in leading to the propositions for peace which were soon afterward made.

While the war had occupied most of the attention of the people of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, much had been done in making new settlements in Connecticut. Litchfield, Tolland, and several of their neighbouring towns, had been begun or incorporated. Some Hartford and Windsor people, however, who claimed the territory between Woodbury, west of Farmington and Simsbury, and east of the Housatonic up to the Massachusetts line, under a grant made for the sake of precaution in the time of Sir Edmund Andross, attempted to hold the land in opposition to the government ; and some of them were imprisoned at Hartford. A mob, however, assembled, forced open the jail, and released them ; and the unlawful acts were repeated. The rioters were so strong that they were with difficulty brought to trial by Colonel Whiting, Major Talcott, and others, and

fined about £20 each. Even after this, other persons laid out a town at Goshen, and were selling the land; when a committee was appointed to confer with them, which effected an amicable settlement after two years, by giving to Hartford and Windsor the eastern half of the territory in dispute, which was subsequently divided equally between them.

Some of the manufacturers and merchants of England had become so much alarmed by the industry of some of the colonies, and their success in different kinds of manufacture, that in 1731 they petitioned Parliament to restrict them; and the Board of Trade were ordered by the House of Commons to inquire and report "with respect to laws made, manufactures set up, or trade carried on, detrimental to the trade, navigation, or manufactures of Great Britain." Among other things, that report states, that in Connecticut, as well as the rest of New-England, Pennsylvania, and Somerset county, Maryland, they had "fallen into the manufacture of woollen cloth and linen cloth, for the use of their own families only," in consequence of the ease with which flax and hemp were raised, and the abundance of wool, which would otherwise be "entirely lost." The Board remarked: "It were to be wished that some expedient might be fallen upon to direct their thoughts from undertakings of this nature; so much the rather, because these manufactures, in process of time, may be carried on in greater degree, unless an early stop be put to their progress, by employing them in naval stores." It proved, however, a difficult thing wholly to divert the attention of the people from these

necessary labours ; and, although the British government pursued a course of severe policy towards them for many years, they did not wholly succeed, but rather fostered that spirit of dissatisfaction which alienated the colonies from the mother-country.

There were, at that time, six iron furnaces and nineteen forges in New-England ; great numbers of hats were made, and exported to Spain, Portugal, and the West Indies ; and many ships were built "for the French and Spaniards, in return for rum, molasses, wines, and silks, which they truck there by connivance." No answers were received from the governor of Connecticut, but it is said to have had but inconsiderable manufactures, the people being generally "employed in tillage ;" and the Board said, "We find, by some accounts, that the produce of this colony is timber, boards, all sorts of English grain, hemp, flax, sheep, black cattle, swine, horses, goats, and tobacco ; that they export horses and lumber to the West Indies, and receive in return sugar, salt, molasses, and rum."

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## CHAPTER XXXIII. ' 1739.

**The Spanish War, 1745.—“The Old French War.”—War expected between England and Spain.—Preparations.—Declared in 1739.—Forces required against the Spanish Islands.—Havana taken, but abandoned in consequence of a great Mortality in the Army.—Declaration of War by France.—Canso taken by the French.—The Northern Colonies determine alone to send an Expedition against Louisburg.—Assisted by Admiral Warren, they capture it after a Siege.—Important Consequences.—Campaign of 1746.—Powerful English and French Armaments prepared for America.—The Pretender's Insurrection in Scotland.—The English Fleet not sent.—The French Fleet dispersed.—Campaign of 1747.—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.—American Conquests restored to the French.**

A WAR between England and Spain was apprehended in 1739, in consequence of the unfriendly aspect of affairs in those two countries; and Connecticut would of course have reason to expect to suffer from hostile fleets, as her coast was exposed to invasion, and her shipping to capture. The Assembly, in October, ordered ten cannon and a supply of ammunition to be placed at New-London, and an armed sloop-of-war to be prepared for defence. Provision was also made for the protection of the frontiers: the militia were formed into thirteen regiments, with a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and major for each.

War was actually declared on the 13th of October, and requisition was soon made on the colonies for four regiments, to meet a British force at Jamaica, destined against the Spanish West Indies. The



Assembly provided for the enlistment of volunteers and the appointment of officers, and the providing of transports and food till they should join the army at Jamaica. On the 9th of January, 1740, Lord Cathcart reached that island from England, with twenty-five ships of the line, and a number of frigates and smaller vessels, where, after his death, it was joined by Vice-admiral Vernon, with four ships of the line, &c. There were, in all, 15,000 seamen, and full 12,000 soldiers, including 4000 from the colonies. General Wentworth now succeeded to the command; and, after wasting time in endeavours to intercept a French fleet, attacked Carthagená, on the Spanish Main, after it had been re-enforced, and failed in the attempt with loss, although some valuable Spanish vessels were captured.

The next object was Cuba; and Havana was taken: but the mortality was such that it was abandoned, after the loss of a thousand men daily for some time. The misfortunes of this expedition fell heavily upon New-England. Nearly a thousand men had been furnished by those colonies, of whom not a hundred returned. Massachusetts lost 450 out of 500.

In 1741, about 2000 men from the southern colonies attacked Florida, but effected nothing important; and in 1742, a Spanish force of about 3000 men landed on the Altamaha, but were driven back by a stratagem of General Oglethorpe.

France declared war against England on the 4th of March, 1744. The news reached Louisburg before it was received in the English colonies; and Canso was surprised and taken by Duviour, from

that place. French cruisers soon appeared on the coast, in such numbers that fishing and commerce were stopped; and it was generally determined that Louisburg should be taken, if possible.

Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, proposed that a large provincial army should be raised, and ships sent to cruise against that place: but the plan was long debated before it was adopted. New-England unanimously agreed to engage in the undertaking: but the southern colonies refused; and, an embargo having been laid, the Assembly of Connecticut voted to raise 500 men, which was its proposed quota, while Massachusetts raised 3250, and Rhode Island and New-Hampshire 300 each. In Connecticut, a bounty of £10 was given to every soldier coming furnished, and £3 to each of those who came unprovided; and the monthly pay was £8, while they were to be under their own officers as far as might be consistent with the good of the service. Roger Wolcott, the deputy-governor, was appointed commander-in-chief of the Connecticut troops, which sailed from New-London under convoy of the colony sloop, the Defence. The whole expedition was put under the command of Colonel Pepperell, and Governor Wolcott was made second in command.

Twelve ships and vessels were collected, and some of them sent to cruise off Louisburg, to intercept aid from France. These were all the maritime force of New-England; and it was necessary to procure ten eighteen pounders from New-York. On the 23d of April, the expedition was joined at Canso by Admiral Warren from the West India station, in the *Superb* of sixty guns, and two other

vessels of forty guns. They proceeded to Louisburg, and soon commenced a regular siege, during which several French ships were captured, one of them with 560 men. English ships arrived from time to time, until there were eleven men-of-war assembled. On the 17th of June that strong and commanding fortress capitulated, and the island of Cape Breton was delivered up. The troops were sent to Rochefort, in France, in eleven ships. The besiegers had lost in all only 101 men. A re-enforcement of 700 or 800 men arrived from the colonies after the surrender, of whom 200 were from Connecticut. The weather had been favourable until the captors had possession of the place; and then severe rains began, which might have interrupted the siege, or caused many deaths, if the capitulation had been delayed.

The news of this success was very well received in the colonies; and contributions of money and provisions were made for the support of the troops by some of the southern ones: by New-York, £3000; by New-Jersey, £2000; and by Pennsylvania, £4000. Louisburg was the principal fortress of France in this part of America; and its loss was a most severe blow to the power, prospects, and hopes of that kingdom, then so inimical and often so injurious to the colonies. The ditch round the town was 80 feet in breadth, the ramparts 30 feet high, and defended by 65 guns, while the two water-batteries had 30 twenty-eight and 30 forty-two pounders. There were, besides, 6 nine-inch and 10 thirteen-inch mortars; 600 regular troops, and 1800 militia; with provisions and ammunition for five or six months. The French

flag was kept flying as a decoy, after the surrender; and several ships were thus taken, worth about a million of pounds sterling.

The capture of Louisburg proved important in another respect: for the king had sent seven ships of war to aid the Canadians and Indians against the colonies. The commander heard of the capitulation from Lieutenant-governor Smith, of New-York, whom he captured, and therefore returned. Monsieur Marin, who went against Annapolis with 900 Indians and Frenchmen, after awaiting the fleet in vain, gave over his designs against that place. Three hundred and fifty men from Connecticut garrisoned Louisburg the following winter.

It is remarkable that the colonies received no part of the immense spoil taken by this expedition, although they had planned and undertaken it, without aid or even encouragement from England, at an expense to themselves almost ruinous; and the assistance which had been afforded them at a late hour had not slackened their efforts, but rather increased them. The English sea and land officers had divided the rich prizes among themselves; and, with so selfish a spirit had they acted, that nothing had been given to any of the provincials, except a small sum allowed to Captain Fletcher for leading in the South Sea ship. The Connecticut Assembly, in August, 1745, addressed a letter of congratulation to the king, with a petition that he would show some favour to such of their officers whose names they sent; at the October session, a letter was ordered to be addressed to Sir Peter Warren, requesting him to use his influence in their behalf; and Mr. Thomas Fitch was ap-

pointed agent in London, which he declined. The result was, that the application was unsuccessful. Such injustice, together with the many evils and inconveniences arising from their state of dependence on the mother country, may have tended gradually to wean the colonies from England.

The success of the expedition against Louisburg, it appears, caused great surprise among many of the most cool and judicious people : for, when we consider the weakness of the whole colonial force, and the strength of the fortress, it must be confessed that they had very little rational prospect of capturing it without aid ; and assistance had been refused them by Admiral Warren the very day before their departure from Boston. Even after the arrival of his majesty's ships, such storms or unfavourable winds as had defeated several previous enterprises, might have been fatal to this. The pious people, therefore, very generally regarded the event as affording a striking display of the favourable interference of Divine Providence. The annual convention of New-England ministers spoke of it in their address to the king as "the wonderful success God has given your American forces."

The capture of Louisburg stimulated France and England, with one consent, to make America a chief theatre of war. Orders were received by the colonies in June, 1746, that a provincial force should join eight battalions of regular troops at Louisburg, and sail for Quebec, in the squadron of Sir Peter Warren ; and that, at the same time, an army, under General St. Clair, should march from Albany to attack Montreal. The colonies were

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expected to raise 5000 men: but, not disheartened by former injustice and disappointments, they agreed to increase that number to 8200. Of these Connecticut furnished 1000, and New-England 5200, most of whom were ready to embark for the rendezvous in six weeks.

Admiral Lestock, however, who was expected from Portsmouth with a powerful armament, was prevented from sailing, partly, perhaps, in consequence of the apprehensions caused by the party of the young Pretender, who had landed in Scotland in August, 1745, and designed to reduce the kingdom under the power of the rejected royal family. He was successful in his operations until April 16th, 1746, when his army suffered a total defeat in the battle of Preston Pans.

A powerful French fleet, of 11 line ships and 30 smaller vessels, sailed for Chebucto, in Nova Scotia, in June, under the Duke d'Anville, where 1600 French and Indians were to await it, and there was no force to oppose it. In this case, however, Providence was pleased to disappoint the enemy when they had the most favourable prospects of success: for the fleet was delayed by contrary winds, one ship was burned, the Mars and Alcide, sixty-fours, were disabled, and the Ardent 64 was sent back on account of sickness on board. The colonies, however, were in a state of alarm long after the danger was over: for they heard exaggerated accounts of the poor remnants of their enemies, as the Duke d'Anville proceeded to Chebucto in September with one ship of the line and three or four transports. Fearing that Boston would be attacked, 6400 militia were soon col-

lected, and 6000 more prepared to march. Apprehensions of the most gloomy nature were now indulged; and, to human foresight, nothing was to be hoped for in case the English fleet should not arrive, of whose detention at home the colonies were not yet aware. The Great Ruler of events, in whom so many placed their trust, protected the defenceless in a way of which they had no anticipation.

The French admiral died suddenly, in consequence of disappointment, as was believed, at not meeting expected re-enforcements: but whether by apoplexy or by poison appears doubtful. A few hours after his death, and on the same day, his vice-admiral, D'Estournelle, arrived with four ships of the line; and it was immediately proposed by him to return to France. The governor of Canada, however, Jonquière, who was on board, and now second in command, urged that the ships should remain, and take Annapolis and Nova Scotia; and he at length prevailed on the majority to decide on that course. D'Estournelle was so much chagrined at this, that, in those depths of despair to which infidelity can drive its miserable victims, he killed himself with his own sword. The men were now landed at Chebucto for the benefit of their health: but many of them became sickly; and the Indians of Nova Scotia, who afforded them all the conveniences they could, lost one third of their number by diseases communicated by them.

In these circumstances, the commanders were alarmed by an unfounded report that the English fleet was on the way, under Admiral Lestock.

Governor Shirley, having received such information, despatched a packet with the news to Louisburg. This was captured by the French, who immediately became alarmed by the false report, and sailed for France. A severe storm, however, overtook them when two days out, which dispersed their ships; and, before they could get home, one was burned, one was taken, and another was driven on shore and destroyed. Thus ended this great expedition: the most formidable that had ever been formed for the reduction of the colonies, and which produced as much apprehension as the Spanish Armada had caused to England. The pious people of the country, who knew that the English government had not taken any step to oppose it, except to order Admiral Townsend to go from the West Indies to Louisburg, which he never did, were disposed to attribute their deliverance entirely to that Almighty Hand which had so often, and now so signally, interposed in their favour.

The Assembly of Connecticut, in October, disbanded the troops they had raised, as an attempt against Crown Point, planned by Governor Shirley after the failure of the great expedition, had not been prosecuted.

At their session in January, 1747, an invitation was received from Governor Shirley to aid him in a winter expedition against Crown Point: but this was declined. An address of congratulation was sent to the king, on the occasion of his delivery from the plot by which "the popish Pretender" had been brought to seek the throne.

In the mean time, St. George's in Maine, and Saratoga, had been attacked by the Indians; and



the other New-England colonies engaged in an enterprise which proved disastrous to some of them. Having raised 1000 men to re-enforce Annapolis and drive the enemy out of Nova Scotia, those from Massachusetts were captured at Minas, after losing Colonel Noble and a considerable number, but released on parole.

Another French expedition sailed this year, under La Jonquière, to retake Nova Scotia. It left Rochelle in company with a squadron for the East Indies under St. George. But, on the 3d of May, it was overtaken by the British squadron commanded by Admirals Anson and Warren, who captured six ships of the line and four Indiamen transports, with much treasure. This was the last attempt made by France against that part of America.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, between the French and the English, was made this year, on the 7th of October; and, although the prisoners were to be restored without ransom, it was not very gratifying to the colonies to find that all the conquests were also to be restored. They had been involved in a long train of distresses for 10 years, and lost an immense sum. A million of pounds sterling had probably been spent by the northern colonies alone, full half of which had fallen upon Massachusetts. Connecticut had emitted bills to the amount of £80,000 currency, much of which was of the new tenour; and the troops she had supplied were so numerous, that it is probable her expenses were as large in proportion. She had maintained a garrison in Hampshire county, Massachusetts, and kept up a sloop-of-war with about 100 men. The colonies lost much by the French privateers.

Cuba, Louisburg, and Nova Scotia cost New-England between 5000 and 6000 young men; and from 1722 to 1749, Massachusetts and New-Hampshire did not increase in population, when, in a time of peace, the inhabitants would probably have been doubled. These were some of the results of the collisions with the French; and others were not less lamentable. The colonies were left deeply in debt, with a currency long greatly depreciated, and, worst of all, in some degree demoralized by the contaminating influence of war.

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## CHAPTER XXXIV. 1747-1756.

**A Period of Peace and Prosperity.**—The Custom-house Officer of New-London suspected of Pilfering from the Cargo of a Spanish Vessel in store.—A Charge of Participating in the Act made against Governor Wolcott.—Mr. Fitch elected Governor.—The French strengthen and extend their Posts and Fortresses on the North and West.—Their Intentions.—The Ohio Company.—Fort Du Quesne built by the French.—Washington's first Military Expedition.—Its Ill-success.—The Union of all the Colonies contemplated.—Meeting of Commissioners at Albany.—Connecticut alone withholds her Assent to a Plan proposed.—No System adopted.—General Braddock arrives from England as Commander-in-chief.—Three Expeditions prepared and sent against Forts Du Quesne, Frontignac, and Crown Point.—Colonel Monckton obtains Possession of Nova Scotia.—Braddock's Defeat and Death.—Battle of Lake George, and Defeat and Death of General Dieskau.—Governor Shirley unsuccessful against Fort Frontignac.

PEACE prevailed from 1747 until 1755, and the colony enjoyed many of the blessings which it usu-

ally confers upon a Christian land. The people betook themselves, without fear or hinderance, to the cultivation of their farms, the clearing of new fields, the settlement of new towns, navigation, fishing, and the few arts which they were able to pursue with advantage; the whole population thronged to public worship, without the necessity of carrying their muskets; the children might go to school without the fear of Indians behind every bush; and their homes were no more saddened by the sighs of mothers made widows by some recent battle. War often causes events which have an evident influence on important interests; and these are usually enlarged upon by historians, partly because they are easily perceived, and partly because they are over-rated. But peace has often as really laid the foundation to changes quite as important, and more generally beneficial, as well as less appreciated. We are not able to state with precision the influences which the peace of 1747 brought into exercise. As usual, the causes were not local, nor confined to a few agents, as in ordinary wars: but they operated in every settlement, and exerted their influence by every family table and fireside. We have, therefore, to pass over, without particular notice, several tranquil years: for it is war which gives History employment for her pen; and she passes by those who are at rest from its ravages, as the physician enters only habitations which are visited by disease.

A Spanish ship, which entered New-London in distress in the year 1753, discharged and stored her cargo under the care of the collector of that port. The supercargo complained, when he began

to reload it a few months afterward, that part of it was not produced ; and refused to retain what he had received until the whole should be delivered up, saying, at the same time, that he would be at no charges for it. The Assembly appear to have been unable to ascertain the facts in the case : but they desired and authorized Governor Wolcott to make search, and see that full justice was done him, " according to the laws of trade, nature, and nations." Nothing, however, was produced or restored ; and so much blame was cast upon the governor, whether with or without reason, that, at the election which very soon came on, Mr. Thomas Fitch was chosen in his place.

It is well worthy of attention and remembrance, that a governor of Connecticut was removed from his office by the spontaneous votes of the freemen, merely because he was suspected of having connived at an act of this kind, when the nation to which the foreigner belonged, then, and for half a century afterward, imprisoned strangers landing in their colonies even from shipwreck, and confiscated all the property they could seize. It is our duty to be impartial ; and, while we should not apologize for any man clearly blameworthy, we are bound to approve and admire the superiority of those principles which led the freemen of Connecticut thus to condemn the conduct of which they suspected their chief ruler.

About the year 1741, in the present town of Columbia, Dr. Eleazar Wheelock began the education of Samson Occum, a pious young Indian of the Mohegan tribe, who afterward was a distinguished minister of the Gospel for many years.

Dr. Wheelock's school was the beginning of Dartmouth College, in 1770.

We now approach the melancholy period of the last French War, which was brought about by the encroachments of that nation upon the territory expressly confirmed to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht. In Acadia and Nova Scotia they were now erecting forts and establishing posts, though in previous treaties they had renounced their claims to them. They occupied Crown Point (now far within New-York), and were preparing to come down to Ticonderoga; while in the west they were building a line of forts from the lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. A plan like this might well alarm the colonies, who had had so much experience of the bad faith, subtlety, and cruelty of the rulers of Canada. The danger of delay was redoubled by the skill with which those artful men usually enlisted ignorant savages in their service, by the combined powers of blind superstition, falsehood, and hopes of plunder. If the colonies had sometimes barely escaped, by the kind interposition of God alone, from the deadly plots which had been laid for them along the limited northern frontier, what scenes of fire and bloodshed had they soon to expect, when they should be surrounded by the broad semicircle which the enemy were drawing on the land side, and the French fleets and privateers along the coast!

The French laid claim to the great valley of the Mississippi, including all the country whose waters naturally flow into that mighty stream: that is, as far east as the Alleghany Mountains, comprehending everything west of them, in regions entire-

ly unknown. But a rich association of English noblemen, and merchants, and Virginia planters, had recently begun to occupy a part of the banks of the beautiful Ohio; and they were soon aware of the erection of three forts on the upper portion of the line marked out by the French: on the south shore of Lake Erie, on a branch of the Ohio, and at the confluence of the Ohio and Wabash. Of course they were anxious to put an immediate stop to operations like these. The Pennsylvanians viewed the Ohio company with jealousy, and several nations of Indians had their feelings excited on different considerations. Some of the Ohio company had several of their traders taken by the savages; and the fort they had begun to build at the mouth of the Monongahela was seized by 1000 Frenchmen, and converted into a French fortress, after most of their men had been killed. Our great Washington here began his military life, as a youth, as little anticipating as his countrymen what a noble career was destined for him by Divine Providence. Guided by pure and disinterested principles, which had been assiduously instilled into him by a superior mother, he was probably, at this early period, excited by nobler motives than those which lead most soldiers to the field. In the wild and perilous scenes which he sought with no selfish hopes, he was doubtless able to bear with noble equanimity the reverse which soon sent him back, bound by a promise not to serve against the French in a year. De Villiers, commander of Fort Du Quesne (now Pittsburg), had brought 900 French and many Indians against him, and forced him to a capitulation.

And now it appeared highly important that authority should be concentrated somewhere, to combine and command the power of all the colonies. The Lords of Trade recommended a meeting of commissioners from them all to form such a plan. A meeting was held at Albany, and a plan was proposed by a committee, to place the management of all the great and general concerns of the country into the hands of a Grand Council of Delegates from the colonies, with a president appointed by the king. The delegates were to be chosen by the colonial legislatures, and the president was to have the right of a negative or veto on all their proceedings. The project was approved by all the commissioners except those sent by "that cautious people," as the venerable Chief-justice Marshall denominates them, the freemen of Connecticut. They feared, says he, "that the power vested in the president might prove dangerous to their welfare." The Connecticut Assembly protested, and instructed their agent fully to resist it. The project suited the British cabinet no better: for what security was there that the president should retain his seat and his veto, when the council should have begun to feel the strength of union in council and action?"

The British ministers next proposed another plan: that there should be an assembly of governor and one or two councillors from each colony, with authority to direct the military force and operations, and draw the money from England, which should afterward be repaid by taxes on the Americans. This plan, however, was too unreasonable to be insisted on; and things were left as before, dependant on the will of the colonies. The im-

portant object of engaging the Five Nations of Indians to join the English also failed of satisfactory accomplishment; and now another campaign was approaching, for which preparation was to be made without any energetic power of general authority.

General Braddock having been sent from England as commander-in-chief, the governor of Connecticut was invited to meet him in council in Virginia, with the governors of the other colonies; and they accordingly met on the 14th of April, 1755. It was there agreed to send three armies against the enemy: one under Braddock against Fort Du Quesne, with the troops he had brought over, and those of Virginia and Maryland; another against Fort Frontignac, by the regiments of Shirley and Pepperell, commanded by the former; and the third against Crown Point, under Colonel Johnson, of New-York, with the troops of New-England and that colony.

The French were known to be preparing a fleet of 20 sail of the line, besides frigates and transports, with about 4000 men and military stores for Canada; and Connecticut was informed that she was expected to do her full share in raising an army to co-operate with the British troops. The Assembly, at a special session on the 8th of January, 1756, authorized the governor to comply with all the requisitions that had been made, at the expense of the colony; and sent the king a letter of thanks for his kindness and care. The Assembly emitted £7500 lawful money in bills, at five per cent. interest, to be called in in 1758; and to meet them a tax was laid of 2*d.* on the pound.

In March another session was held, to consider



a plan of Governor Shirley, to raise 1000 men in Connecticut, in order to form an army of 5000, to operate against Crown Point. The Assembly thought their quota much too large: yet they consented to furnish it, and also voted to send 500 men more in case of need. To provide for the expense, they extended the time of payment on old bills, with interest, and issued more, to the amount of £12,500 providing for them by another tax. Colonel Johnson, of New-York, was elected as commander-in-chief of the northern army, and Colonel Phineas Lyman, one of the magistrates of Connecticut, major-general; while the regiments of the colony were placed under the command of General Lyman and Elizur Goodrich.

We have now, however, to speak of an expedition which proceeded from Boston for Nova Scotia under Colonel Monckton. Many French inhabitants were there, who, according to the treaty of Utrecht, were to remain unmolested: but, as they refused to take the oath of allegiance to England, and showed a decided partiality for the Canadians, they were regarded as dangerous inhabitants. Captain Rouse, with three frigates and a sloop-of-war, accompanied the troops up the Bay of Fundy. At Malagash they found the passage of the river disputed by a large body of French and Indians, posted in a blockhouse, and behind a log breastwork built around it. After an engagement of an hour, the enemy were driven away. On the 12th of June they commenced the investment of Fort Beau-séjour; and, although it was defended by 26 cannon, it was taken after a bombardment of four days, and the garrison were sent to Louisburg.

On the Gasperau River, which empties into Bay Verte, was the principal magazine, which was taken. Several hundreds of the Acadians were taken among the prisoners in this campaign; and about 15,000 persons were now disarmed, and required to leave the country, nothing but their moveable property being left to them. Some were destitute, and many were brought to New-England. The last object was to dislodge the enemy from the mouth of St. John's River; and, on their appearance, the fort which they were erecting was abandoned. This left Nova Scotia entirely subject to England; but the expulsion of the inhabitants was an act of severity which may be reconciled with the laws of war, but cannot be justified by those of humanity.

In the mean time, General Braddock was in vain endeavouring to hasten his preparations in Virginia; and, hearing that a re-enforcement was expected at Fort Du Quesne, he proceeded with 800 men, leaving Colonel Dunbar to follow with the main army and baggage. He had been faithfully warned, in England and America, to guard against ambushments in the wilderness: but, trusting to his own judgment and skill, he proceeded without sending out scouting parties until the 9th of July, when he was fired upon by a large body of the Indians, who had secreted themselves in the high grass in an open wood. He displayed great courage, and had five horses shot under him, in vain attempts to lead on his men in regular columns to dislodge the enemy: but he soon received a mortal wound, and his troops fled in the utmost disorder. Colonel Washington, the only surviving of

ficer fit for service, headed the retreat with the coolness and skill of a veteran ; but the country through which he had to return, being a vast extent of territory now left defenceless, was filled with consternation at the unexpected failure of the expensive expedition.

Colonel Dunbar succeeded to the chief command : but, instead of proceeding with resolution against the enemy, or even providing for the protection of the frontier, he hastily marched off to Philadelphia with the army. Let us now turn to the expedition destined against Crown Point.

More than 4000 men had been collected by Generals Johnson and Lyman at Albany, with a body of Mohawks under their sachem Hendrick, and marched to the Second Carrying-place under the command of General Lyman, where they constructed a fort. The army proceeded to Lake George in August, and began to prepare batteaux. News was brought that General Dieskau had landed in South Bay, a few miles east of them, when a scout of 500 men was sent in that direction, under Colonel Williams. At the distance of about four miles they fell into an ambush, when, after fighting bravely, many of them were cut off, including Williams and Hendrick, and the enemy advanced against the main body, with Dieskau at their head. Colonel Whiting, with great difficulty, brought off the survivors ; and that unfortunate affair was afterward known in traditions by the melancholy name of " The Bloody Morning Scout."

The Americans, having hastily thrown up a breastwork of logs near the spot on which Fort George was afterward erected, and whose ruins

are still to be seen, took shelter within it. Thither 2000 French and Indians pursued the fugitives; and, had they stormed the work at once, they might probably have gained it: but, while they halted, and delayed to fire by platoons in the European manner, the Americans rallied for defence; and, early in the action which ensued, General Johnson was wounded, and left the chief command to the gallant General Lyman. General Dieskau also was wounded; and, in a sally made by the defenders, he received his death-shot from a soldier, who thought he was drawing a pistol when he was taking out his watch to offer it to him to spare his life. The French suffered a complete defeat, having lost 700 killed, while the Americans lost only 200.

Connecticut took her customary active part in this campaign. Before the battle, the governor was urged by General Johnson to give a re-enforcement, and raised 1500 men, and sent them off for Albany equipped in a single week. The remainder of the season was spent in erecting Fort Edward and Fort George, and preparing to proceed to Crown Point on the opening of the spring. This being done, in November the troops returned home to spend the winter. The king and people of England greatly praised the colonial troops for their valour; and General Johnson was created a baronet, and received a present of £5000; while General Lyman received no reward, although he had, in fact, gained the victory.

The expedition against Fort Frontignac, under Governor Shirley, had been quite unsuccessful. He was unable to set out from Albany until the

middle of July, and reached the mouth of Oswego River on the 18th of August. He got a supply of boats to go to Niagara: but, for want of provisions, was unable to proceed; and spent his time in building Forts Oswego and Ontario. Thus ended the first campaign of the war.

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## CHAPTER XXXV. 1756.

War now declared after a bloody Campaign in America.—Earl of Loudon Commander-in-chief.—Plan of Operations.—Delays.—Fort Oswego taken by the French under the Marquis of Montcalm.—General Abercrombie does not proceed against Crown Point.—The Campaign of 1757.—The British Ministry send out only a Squadron of Ships to attack Louisburg, which attempts nothing.—No sufficient Force being prepared at Lake George, Montcalm takes Fort William Henry.—The Massacre.—Inhumanity of General Webb.

It is remarkable that France had proceeded to the hostile measures which led the colonies and England into the campaign of 1755 without any declaration of war. England waited until the 18th of May, 1756, when she declared it; and France followed her example early in June. The Earl of Loudon was sent to America to take the general command, as well as to be governor of Virginia and chief of a royal American regiment. He enjoyed great popularity, and was invested with very extensive powers. Governor Shirley was also removed, and General Abercrombie appointed in his stead. The northern colonies made another great exertion, and assembled 7000 troops; and Connecticut alone raised 2000 men, although Loudon de-

manded only half that number : for it was apprehended that there would be a deficiency in the southern levies. The two English commanders, however, arrived late, and proved to be wanting in that very spirit which animated the people and governments.

It was agreed, in a general council held at New-York, that the northern troops, with some regulars, should operate against Crown Point and Niagara ; and a body of soldiers were sent up the Kennebeck River to alarm Québec, and draw off the French to that quarter. To the Southerners was again assigned the taking of Fort Du Quesne, to prevent the farther extension of the line of the enemy in the west, while the Northerners were to cut it through at the two points on Lakes Champlain and Ontario. Of these two it is perhaps difficult to say which was the more important. Crown Point was a position of encroachment on the English : Frontignac was one of communication with the Indians far in the interior. In the passage between Lakes Erie and Ontario, there was the carrying-place.

General Abercrombie did not reach Albany until the middle of summer ; and then, although he had 10,000 men there, and 2000 more at the forts beyond him, he remained inactive, although the French and Indians had taken and massacred an English garrison of 25 men in the country of the Five Nations, and attempted to cut off Colonel Bradstreet and a detachment on Onondaga River. Onondaga Fort was besieged by the French, under the Marquis of Montcalm, with about 3000 men. The approaches were guarded by land and water : but no relief was sent until the 12th of August,

which was entirely useless, as the place surrendered on the 14th. The loss was very great: the French took 121 cannon, 14 mortars, two sloops-of-war, 200 boats, a large supply of provisions and ammunition, and 1600 prisoners of war. The fort was dismantled, and the enemy retired with their booty, as the middle and western parts of New-York, then the country of the Five Nations, was entirely open to them.

Abercrombie attempted nothing farther that season, although General Winslow had long been waiting at Lake George, with 7000 men, ready to proceed against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. These troops were therefore employed only in strengthening Fort Edward and Fort George. On the approach of winter the provincials returned home, after an arduous campaign, which had been rendered unavailing by the British commanders.

In the South nothing had been done. South Carolina feared her own slaves more than the French, and sent no troops; and the other colonies agreed on no plan of operations: so that the enemy captured Fort Grenville on the borders of Pennsylvania, and the Indians committed many murders on the frontiers.

The British government made new preparations in 1757, and sent to Halifax 11 ships of the line, a fireship, bombketch, and fifty transports, with more than 6000 troops, under General Hopson. Admiral Holbourn and Commodore Holmes were the naval commanders. Connecticut again promptly raised double the number of troops required, and shared in the general chagrin on learning that nothing was designed except the capture of Louis-

burg. Even this was not attempted: for the English commanders delayed until that fortress received a strong re-enforcement from France; so that it amounted to 9000 men, while the British had 12,000.

And now the French were tempted to advance into the heart of our country, by the absence of the usual powerful forces to resist them. The British commanders had destroyed the fortifications at the Great Carrying-place the year before, and felled trees into Wood Creek to obstruct the navigation; and only a small force was to be found in that neighbourhood, viz., that in Fort William Henry, under Colonel Monroe. The French advance had already reached Ticonderoga; when Colonel Parker was sent with 400 men to surprise them, but they were cut off almost to a man by a stratagem of the enemy. The French, under Montcalm, now advanced to the siege of Fort William Henry with nearly 8000 men, many of whom were Indians. The fort contained only 3000: but at Fort Edward lay General Webb, with 4000 more; and he might have enabled the besieged to cope with the enemy at least on equal terms. But his conduct is inexplicable: for, when he received an urgent appeal from Colonel Monroe to hasten to his aid, he coolly ordered his troops back to their quarters, though many of them were so burning with desire to march, that they actually wept with agony for their friends so basely abandoned. Webb even advised Monroe to surrender to the enemy. This he was compelled to do, after defending himself as long as possible; and the garrison marched out, under promises of pro-



tection, leaving their arms, as well as their property, with the enemy. After they had proceeded about half a mile, however, the Indians attacked them with yells, and murdered and scalped great numbers, including women and children, and pursued the rest fourteen miles, to Fort Edward. Webb now, for the first time, called on the colonies for assistance, and put them to great expense in sending troops.

The news of these melancholy and shameful events caused a deep sensation. Connecticut in a few days had 5000 men on the march for that blood-stained region, although she had already despatched 1400. Other colonies showed great zeal: but still Webb remained inactive, while the French destroyed the towns on the Mohawk River.

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## CHAPTER XXXVI. 1758-59.

Mr. Pitt Prime Minister of England.—His Energy.—Campaign of 1758.—Preparations for the entire Reduction of the French Power in Canada.—Admiral Boscawen and General Wolfe attack Louisburg.—It Capitulates.—Lord Howe is killed at Lake George.—Abercrombie's unskilful and unsuccessful Attempt against Ticonderoga.—He retreats.—Fort Frontignac taken by Colonel Bradstreet.—General Forbes captures Fort Du Quesne.—The Campaign of 1759.—General Amherst expels the French from Ticonderoga and Crown Point.—Builds a Fortress at the latter Place.—Fort Niagara taken by General Johnson.—General Wolfe sails to Quebec with Admiral Saunders.—Repulsed at Montmorency.—Scales the Precipice to the Heights of Abraham.—Defeats the Marquis of Montcalm.—Quebec Capitulates.—General Amherst, with 10,000 Men, proceeds by Oswego to Montreal.—Takes that City.—The Marquis of Vaudreuil surrenders all Canada to England.

It was time that some change should be made in the British cabinet, whose mismanagement had brought

such severe and repeated losses on the Americans. The next year Mr. Pitt came into office ; and his energetic ministry soon gave a new face to affairs on both sides of the Atlantic. At a meeting of the General Assembly at New-Haven on the 8th of March, 1758, a letter from that great statesman was read, which, by its unusual tone and spirit, quite reanimated the members. He announced that the reduction of Louisburg was now to be undertaken in earnest, to intercept the communication between France and Canada, and to deprive the enemy of the fisheries ; and that energetic means would be used to gain Crown Point and Du Quesne. It was immediately determined by the Assembly that 5000 men should be raised, and formed into four regiments of twelve companies each, under the command of Colonels Whiting, Dyar, and Read, with chaplains for all. £30,000 was issued in bills at five per cent., and a tax laid of 8d. on the pound on the list of 1760, and 9d. on the pound on that of 1759.

The British fleet of 157 sail, with 17,000 troops, sailed from England on the 19th of February, under Admiral Boscawen, with land forces under General Amherst and Brigadier-general Wolfe ; and reached Louisburg on the 2d of June. The weather prevented a landing until the 8th ; when General Wolfe took the left wing to the shore in the face of a heavy cannonade from the enemy's batteries, while the fleet poured in all her fire along the extended line. The English soon drove the French from the left, and occupied that part of their outworks ; and thus were able to commence digging their approaches towards the fortress.

They had to endure much opposition, and to dig in wet and difficult ground, exposed to the fire of five French ships of the line and several frigates, until the 21st of July. On that day three of them were burned; and General Amherst, having got near to the town and set several buildings on fire with bombshells, sent 600 men, on the night of the 25th, to destroy the remaining ships. This having been done, the fortress capitulated, and 5737 men became prisoners of war. The English thus gained 121 cannon, 18 mortars, much ammunition and stores; and, St. John's being given up at the same time, the whole coast up to the St. Lawrence fell into their hands.

In the mean time, a powerful expedition had been embarked on Lake George. Lord Howe had set out for Ticonderoga with 900 batteaux, 135 whaleboats, and several cannon-rafts, containing 10,000 troops of the northern colonies, and above 6000 regulars. Being sensible, and of a good disposition, he had, ere this, greatly ingratiated himself with the army, by conforming to the American habits of warfare, treating the provincial, as well as the regular officers, with regard, and sharing in the excitement and labours of actual service. After landing, the advance became bewildered in the forest, where they met with a party of the enemy on their retreat from Ticonderoga; and a hasty volley from them killed the young general, while the yells of the savages among them threw the regulars into disorder. The army proceeded; and, on reaching the enemy's line, imprudently attacked it, without waiting for their cannon, in opposition to the wishes of the Americans. As it was defended

by an abatis of trees unstripped of their branches, and the garrison fought with resolution for four hours, the assailants lost nearly 2000 men, counting the wounded, without being able to force a passage, and were then ordered back to their boats. The attack and retreat were directed in the blindest manner by General Abercrombie, who remained at the Creek Mills, and never saw the field of action ; and the provincials were still as much opposed to the one as to the other : for there were still about 14,000 men and a train of artillery to be employed against only 3000 of the enemy.

This new misfortune was partly counterpoised by the capture and destruction of Fort Frontignac, which was taken by surprise on the 27th of August by Colonel Bradstreet. That enterprising officer solicited permission to make an attempt against it, and obtained from Abercrombie 3000 American troops. With these he proceeded, in about a month, to Lake Ontario and the head of the St. Lawrence, where the fort was situated. He captured 60 cannon, 16 small mortars, the whole French squadron on the lake, and a great amount of stores and ammunition : thus cutting off an important link in the enemy's grand line of military posts, and delivering the colony of New-York from danger. The spoil was brought to Oswego.

In the mean time, General Amherst had arrived from Louisburg at Lake George, having marched across the country from Boston with six regiments, intending to prosecute the plan against Crown Point. But, finding Colonel Bradstreet's detachment drawn off, he postponed it for that season.

General Forbes, in his expedition against Fort

Du Quesne, met with entire success. He unhappily lost 300 men of an advanced detachment: but his powerful army induced the French to destroy and evacuate the fortress, and flee down the Mississippi, so that he occupied the ruins without firing a gun, and dispossessed the enemy of it for ever. When it was rebuilt he gave it the name of Fort Pitt, after the energetic British minister under whose auspices he had accomplished this important enterprise. Previously to this, viz., on the 8th of October, a treaty of peace was made with the Western Indians, by which all who inhabited the region from the lakes to the Alleghany Mountains bound themselves to be the friends of the colonies.

The results of the campaign of 1758 were well calculated to confirm the Americans in the opinion that their own generals were better than the English. In all human probability, if left to themselves, they would have gained great advantages, in the three past years, wherever they had failed, their foreign leaders having brought upon them the disappointments and calamities which they had suffered, through want of skill or cowardice. The conviction of this was well calculated to foster those feelings of independence, which led them to resist the oppressive measures of the British government at a subsequent and still more important period of our history. Still, a better class of British officers had now begun to appear; and from these the Americans learned important lessons, to which they were probably, in part, indebted for the skill and science of some of the measures taken in the Revolutionary War. Some of them contract-

ed intimate friendships with British officers of the most estimable characters, which gave occasion to the display of that humanity and martial courtesy which were then generally observed by our army in proper circumstances. Washington was at this time at the right period of life to learn; and he doubtless treasured up much practical wisdom, which so disinterested a soldier could derive from the faults as well as the excellences of others.

But now a still more energetic and decisive campaign approached: for the British ministry had resolved to attempt in earnest the total reduction of the French power in Canada; and the year 1759 saw three expeditions preparing against Quebec, Crown Point, and Niagara. The Assembly of Connecticut, notwithstanding the loss of many of her soldiers, and the enlistment of others in the regular army, determined to furnish 6000 men for this year, in four regiments of ten companies, under Major-general Lyman, Colonels Whiting, Wooster, and Fitch. Israel Putnam, the celebrated General Putnam of the Revolution, was lieutenant-colonel of the fourth regiment. The chaplains were the Reverend Messrs. Beckwith, Eels, Ingersoll, and Pomeroy. To raise money, £50,000 was issued in bills at 5 per cent., and a tax was laid of 10*d.* per pound on the list of 1762, and one of 2*d.* on that of 1761. The bounty to soldiers was raised to £7.

On the 27th of July, 1759, there was a tremendous explosion at Ticonderoga. General Amherst was within the advanced lines, with 12,000 men, operating against the fortress, when the enemy blew up their magazine, and retired to Crown

Point. Being pursued, they abandoned that place on the 1st of August, and took a stand at the Isle-aux-Noix. There 3500 men strongly fortified themselves under General Boulemaque; while Captain Le Bras commanded four large armed ships on Lake Champlain. To cope with the latter, Captain Loring was directed to construct a sloop of sixteen guns, and a radeau or raft eighty-four feet long, to carry six twenty-four pounders; and, in the mean time, General Amherst employed the army in repairing Ticonderoga, and building a regular pentagonal fortress at Crown Point, to put an effectual check to those marauding and scalping parties from which the frontiers had suffered so much.

While these active scenes were passing on Lake Champlain, Fort Niagara was besieged by General Prideaux, with the Indians under Sir William Johnson. But, on the 8th of July, a cohorn burst by accident and killed the former, whence the command devolved on the latter; and he pressed the siege with so much energy, that on the 12th his artillery was within 100 yards of the fort. The French general, Aubry, had called in all the neighbouring garrisons to his assistance; and Johnson soon found them advancing against him, with 1700 Indians. He sent his light infantry to meet them, with as many grenadiers as could be safely withdrawn from the approaches; and, having posted them on the road, flanked with friendly Indians, they received the attack of the enemy unintimidated by the yells of the savages. After an action of an hour the French and their allies broke and fled, and were pursued with slaughter five miles. The

fort immediately surrendered ; and, while the men were sent to New-York and New-England, the women and children were transported to Montreal, at their own desire.

We have still one more expedition to notice, and that the most important in its success, viz., that conducted by General Wolfe against Quebec. With the hope of intercepting the French fleet, and preventing the supplies it contained from re-enforcing that city, Admiral Saunders had brought over the British fleet to Louisburg in April, 1759, and sent Rear-admiral Durel to cruize off the St. Lawrence. Seventeen ships, convoyed by three frigates, however, arrived first, and proceeded up that river. Admiral Saunders followed as soon as the season permitted, landed his troops on the Island of Orleans, a little below Quebec, occupied the east bank of Montmorency River and Point Levi, and began a cannonade upon the lower part of the city. The fleet was stationed below, opposite the mouth of Montmorency River ; while Admiral Holmes lay above, constantly exposed to much danger by the floating fire-rafts sent down by the enemy, and with no prospect of reducing the city. An attempt was made to take the enemy's batteries on the west side of the Montmorency, by landing thirteen companies of grenadiers and 200 Americans, and firing from a ship. But the English advance having imprudently pressed up the steep hill before all was ready, were forced back by a terrible fire from above ; and a delay in landing, with the dangers of a high wind, caused the abandonment of the undertaking, after the loss of 500 men. Ill success attended an attempt made to burn the French



shipping; and, after much manœuvring and some despondency, the English troops embarked in boats and transports, and proceeded eight or nine miles up the river, while the armed ships also made a feint, as if preparing to fire on the intrenchments at Beaufort. In the night, however, General Wolfe drifted silently down with his troops, and landed at the foot of the rocky precipice which borders the river for a considerable distance above Quebec. He had but a narrow strip of land to stand upon, and the heights were considered by the enemy as inaccessible: but, with great difficulty, he got his men up to the beautiful level ground above, called the Heights of Abraham; and the light of the morning showed his army in the rear of the city and above it. Montcalm marched out to meet him; and a bloody battle ensued, in which the French were routed and driven into the city. Generals Wolfe and Monckton, however, were among the killed, with 500 soldiers. The French lost Montcalm and about 1500 of their troops. General Bougainville had not strength enough to hazard a serious engagement; and Quebec surrendered on the 18th of September, after the English had made preparations to besiege the city closely by land and water.

The terms on which this important city was given up to the English were these: that the inhabitants should be secured in their property, religion, and rights until a general pacification should be made; and the garrison should march out with the honours of war. The traveller in Lower Canada at the present day hardly needs to be told that these stipulations, which were afterward made

for the people of all Lower Canada, have been strictly regarded from that time to this : for the aspect of the country is very much like that of the South of Europe, both intellectually and morally. The same customs prevail ; and the old influence (namely, that of the Dark Ages) still predominates, though it is somewhat reduced. The British government pays large sums for the support of the bishops ; and the public ceremonies of their faith are treated with marked respect. The ancient system renders land-claims very uncertain ; and in education, knowledge, and improvement, the people are far behind their neighbours : indeed, they have hardly begun to make any important changes in their condition.

Little, it was thought, remained to be done after the reduction of Quebec. General Murray occupied it with 5000 regular and some light troops, while about 1000 of the enemy were taken to France. On Lake Champlain, all the French vessels were destroyed, except one, by Captain Loring ; and General Amherst spent the winter in building the fort at Crown Point. Monsieur Levi made great preparations in the winter to retake Quebec, but was prevented by the activity of General Murray. On the 28th of April, however, the battle of Sillery was fought, in which the inferior numbers of the English brought upon them a defeat, and they were driven back and besieged in the city. But a British fleet arrived in May, in time to drive off the French ships, relieve the garrison, and raise the siege.

Before this, in March, the colonies had raised another army, to which Connecticut sent 5000

men under General Lyman; and General Amherst set out for Montreal in June, by the way of Oswego and Lake Ontario, with 10,000 troops, besides 1000 Indians under General Johnson. In vessels and batteaux, which had been prepared in good time, he transported them to Montreal by the St. Lawrence, captured Isle Royale, passed the dangerous rapids with the loss of 90 men, and was soon joined by General Haviland from Lake George and Lake Champlain, and Général Murray, with the English fleet, and all the troops he could safely bring from Quebec. The Marquis de Vaudreuil despaired of resistance when he saw so powerful a force around him, and capitulated on the 8th of September, two days after the arrival of the enemy. The capitulation included all the country of Canada, and was founded on the principles of that of Quebec. It allowed the troops the honours of war, and the privilege of being transported to France, but under promise not to serve during the war. Property, safety, and their religion were secured to all the people.

After garrisoning the distant posts of Detroit and Michilimackinac, General Amherst took his army by the way it had come, with great risk and labour, but with great success. In the mean time, a small fleet, which had been sent from France in the spring, too late to relieve Quebec, had anchored in the Bay of Chaleur and landed the troops, hoping to re-enforce the army in Canada. They were captured in the summer by Lord Byron; and thus not a spot was left in possession of France in this part of the continent.

Thus terminated the long contest between Eng-

land and France for the supremacy in America. It had continued from the year 1608, when the first settlement was made at Quebec; and had caused many bloody wars, each of several years' duration, and greatly destructive of human life both by land and by sea. In several instances whole colonies were in danger of falling into the power of the French; and, had Providence permitted them to retain permanent possession of any part of our country, how different would have been the condition of the inhabitants!—far more backward than Lower Canada is now in intelligence and improvement. When we consider the nature and effects of their religious and their political influence, we may presume that the population would have borne a strong resemblance to that of Spain and Italy. The colonies of England, as well as the government of Great Britain, gave public thanks to Almighty God for the conquest of the French possessions: for they regarded it as a most important event in favour of human liberty, civil, social, and religious.

A day of thanksgiving was observed in Connecticut on the 23d of November, 1760; and a letter of congratulation and thanks was addressed to the king by the Assembly, and another to General Amherst, for his wise conduct and the care he had taken of the provincial troops, especially those of Connecticut.

Mr. Pitt, in 1761, requested the General Assembly to raise two thirds of the number of troops furnished the last year, as a considerable army was to be employed in extending and strengthening the fortresses, that the country might be prepared for war if the French should again cross the At-

lantic. Connecticut furnished 2300 men, in two regiments, under Major-general Lyman and Colonel Nathan Whiting, with clothes and victuals; and emitted £45,000 in bills. These, with other provincials and regular troops, spent a busy season in repairing and improving the fortifications at Ticonderoga, Crown Point, &c., and the visiter to those fortresses still sees evidences of the labours they bestowed on those interesting positions.

The Cherokee war, which had been excited by the injustice of the governor of South Carolina, and had proved exceedingly calamitous to that colony and its neighbours, as well as to the poor savages, had now been terminated by humane measures; and Fort Du Quesne was strengthened, under the care of Colonel Stanwix.

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## CHAPTER XXXVII. 1762.

England at War with most of the European Powers.—A large Supply of Troops demanded of the Colonies.—Admiral Rodney's Expedition in the West Indies captures Martinique and the Caribbee Islands.—Admiral Pococke and Lord Albemarle, aided by Provincials, take Havana.—The Philippine Islands taken from Spain by Admiral Cornish.—Treaty of Peace at Fontainebleau gives Florida to England.—Indian War.—Several Fortresses surprised by them.—Much Blood shed on the Western Frontiers.—Major Putnam sent from Connecticut under Command of General Gage.—Treaty of Peace with many Western Tribes.—Settlement of the Susquehannah Country by a Colony from Connecticut.—Collision with Pennsylvania.—The Question unsettled till after the Revolution.—Connecticut then received in exchange a part of Ohio.

THE year 1762 found England in a gloomy condition, for the previous campaign had left her

hands much weakened ; and now Spain, as well as almost all the other powers of the Continent, were combined against her and Prussia. In case she should be much farther reduced, the Americans had nothing to expect but a speedy and powerful attempt by France to recover the recent conquests ; and the colonies were called on to prepare for a desperate struggle. Urgent letters came from England for the raising of an army. General Amherst offered a bounty of £5, with clothes, to soldiers enlisting into the king's army ; and the Assembly added £5, and ordered that 375 men should be enlisted.

In the mean time, many of the troops in America, regular and provincial, had sailed for Martinique, to operate there against the enemy, in conjunction with an English fleet. This most powerful armament that had ever been sent thither, under Admiral Rodney and General Monckton, captured the island of Martinique on the 14th of February, 1762 ; and all the Caribbees were soon subject to Great Britain.

Another powerful expedition was sent out from England and the West Indies the same season, with 10,000 men, 37 ships of war, and nearly 150 transports, under Admiral Pococke and Lord Albemarle, and sailed through the Bahama Passage to Havana, against which it was designed. On the 17th of June the troops landed : but, being foiled in all their attempts against the fortresses, the climate destroyed about half their number in the short space of two months. Four thousand regulars arrived from New-York at a most gloomy crisis, with some hundreds of provincials ; and the hopes

of the suffering army were encouraged to renewed exertions. On the 13th of August Havana surrendered ; and, with it, the English obtained possession of the shipping, and a tract of country extending 180 miles west from the city. Very few of the New-England troops ever returned.

Providence, in mercy, soon brought about events which entirely changed the condition of England and her allies, and removed a dark cloud from the prospects of the colonies. The death of the Empress of Russia had removed a most powerful enemy of the King of Prussia ; and the power of the former country was soon brought to the support of the latter. The English fleet in the East Indies, under Admiral Cornish and General Draper, had been successful in the capture of Manilla and the Philippine Islands ; and several other losses had inclined France and Spain to peace. The treaty of Fontainebleau was signed on the 10th of February, 1762, by which the King of France gave up for ever all claim to the northern parts of North America. In the southern part of it, the French territory was limited to Louisiana. At the same time, the King of Spain, in return for the Philippines, gave up Florida to the English, they, in turn, promising to allow the French and Spanish inhabitants of all those territories the free enjoyment of their religion.

But now, when the prospects for a long peace were the most favourable, new trouble was in preparation for the colonies. The Cherokee Indians, as well as the Five Nations, in consequence of suspicions and discontent, fomented, it was believed, by French emissaries, drew many other

tribes into a plot for a general and sudden attack upon the extensive frontiers; and, in 1763, the advanced settlements of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia were destroyed or deserted, after the murder of many inhabitants and traders. The Indians, by deceit, soon got possession of the forts connecting Fort Pitt with the lakes; and also of Michilimackinac, butchering the garrisons. But they were so manfully resisted at Detroit by Captain Dalyell, and by Colonel Bouquet on the way to Fort Pitt with a re-enforcement, that they soon left those fortresses unmolested, and besieged that of Detroit.

The dangers on the frontiers continued to be so great, that the Earl of Halifax, in the spring of 1764, demanded troops of the colonies to assist in protecting them. The governor of Connecticut received also a letter from General Gage, then commander-in-chief in America, in which he urged their immediate attention to the subject. A meeting was held forthwith, and a battalion of 265 men was ordered to be raised, and placed under the command of Major Israel Putnam, to march to any part of North America where the commander-in-chief should require. An active and effectual campaign was made that season, which brought about a treaty in September, and restored peace on such terms as were perfectly satisfactory to the English. Captives were restored, the forts were all given up to them, and it was agreed that, if any tribe should make war with them in futuro, the others should combine for their defence.

About the year 1785 commenced a remarkable revival of religion in a few places in New-Eng.



land, which in two years extended to other parts of it, as well as to New-Jersey. It had a powerful, general, and lasting influence on Connecticut, of a most favourable character. Many of the most pious persons became convinced that they had been far too indifferent to their duty, and expressed great regret for past deficiencies, while they engaged in the practice of religion with greater activity. Some even of the clergy opposed the doctrines which then became prevalent, pronouncing the whole mere enthusiasm or fanaticism: but powerful divines and a large portion of the people being convinced that the cause was the same which produced the wonderful scene on the day of Pentecost, attended frequent meetings, applied themselves to the study of the Scriptures, and to the promotion of the revival of religion, which prevailed for several years.

Dr. Dwight says, "a vast multitude of persons united themselves to the Christian church; and, with few exceptions, testified through life, by their evangelical conduct, the genuineness of their profession. The influence of this body of men, many of whom survived for a long time the peace of 1763, retarded essentially the progress of the evil." The celebrated Mr. Whitfield, of England, a devoted clergyman, visited New-England in 1740 at particular request, and greatly promoted the diffusion of religious zeal by his eloquent and impressive preaching.

The Susquehanna country had been, for several years before this time, a scene of unfortunate dissension between Connecticut and Pennsylvania. The latter claimed it under a grant made by the king to William Penn in 1681: while the claim of

Connecticut was founded on the letters patent granted by King James I. to the Plymouth Company in 1620. That patent expressly included "all America, lying and being in breadth from 40 degrees of north latitude, from the equinoctial line to the 48th degree of said northerly latitude inclusive, and in length of and within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout the main land from sea to sea." In 1631, the Earl of Warwick, president of that company, granted to Lord Say-and-Seal and others forty leagues on a straight line near the seashore from Narraganset River towards the southwest, west and by south, towards Virginia. This had been granted to him the year before, and was confirmed to him by the king. In 1662 it was confirmed, by a royal patent, to the Colony of Connecticut; and in 1755 they had authorized a company of 850 persons to purchase the land of the Five Nations, and recommended to his majesty that the settlers should form a new commonwealth in that region. This was called the Susquehanna Company, and was headed by Phineas Lyman, Roger Wolcott, Jr., Samuel Gray, Abraham Davenport, Esq., and others.

A settlement was made at Wyoming in 1763, in the midst of the wilderness; and Eliphalet Dyer was sent to England to procure an arrangement of the dispute by royal interference. Nothing can be clearer than the soundness of that claim derived from the charter granted to Connecticut in 1620. That instrument conveyed the title to a tract of the same breadth as Connecticut to the South Sea, meaning what is now called the Pacific Ocean; and a glance at the map will suf-

fice to discover that the Valley of Wyoming and much more lay in the range. Pennsylvania, however, persisted in her claim, although it was founded on a patent given by Charles II. in 1681, many years later; and formed the Delaware Company, which proposed the settlement of the same tract of country.

This company applied to Hendrick, the celebrated Mohawk sachem, to sell them his title to the land: but he refused; and the Connecticut people were also unsuccessful in a similar application. Three years after the Connecticut colony had been commenced, Tadeskund, the Delaware chief, was murdered, probably by some of their enemies of the Six Nations: but the Indians accused the colonists of the crime, and determined on revenge. The colonists felt so much confidence in the Delawares, that they rejected every suggestion of danger, and did not arm themselves, or take any other measures for security. On the 15th of October, 1768, they suffered severely for this imprudence: for, while they were scattered about the fields at work, a large body of Indians attacked them by surprise, killed about twenty, and took a number of prisoners, while the rest fled to the woods in the greatest consternation. They had no resort but to return to Connecticut as they could; and this was a journey of great difficulty, fatigue, and exposure at that season of the year, in the existing state of the country.

In the spring of 1769 a party of settlers arrived from Connecticut to reoccupy their lands: but they found them in the possession of a colony sent out by the Delaware Company, who had bought

from the Six Nations such a title as the Connecticut people had got from them. Amos Ogden and Charles Stewart had erected a blockhouse, and were prepared to maintain their ground, having obtained a grant of the land from John Penn, on condition that they should drive off the first settlers. We should hope that this course, so opposed to one of the most evident principles of philanthropy, was never in fact pursued by him, and that he was not fully aware of the proceedings in that territory, so long disputed with bloodshed.

Several of the Connecticut men, having been decoyed into the blockhouse, were captured and sent away : but their companions, not disheartened, erected a blockhouse of their own, and began the cultivation of some of the land. They were soon, however, obliged to yield to a force of 200 Pennsylvanians, and leave their crops under the care of seventeen families. Ogden, in violation of the terms agreed on, destroyed their cattle and harvests, and drove them all away. In February, 1770, Lazarus Stewart, at the head of the Connecticut men, took Ogden's fort : but it was retaken, and, after several attacks and skirmishes, it was burned, and Ogden was compelled to depart, leaving six men in charge of his property. This agreement or capitulation, like the former, was disregarded, and his property destroyed.

The following autumn brought 150 men against Wyoming, with Ogden at their head, who took the place by surprise, and treated the people with much inhumanity : but in December Stewart reduced the place again to the power of the Connecticut people. The governor of Pennsylvania, with an offer

of £300 for the head of Captain Stewart, despatched a sheriff with his posse to seize him: but Ogden's brother was killed in an attack on the fort, and the garrison fled in the night, except twelve men, who yielded it up. In July a body of Connecticut people returned, with Captain Zabulon Butler and 70 men; and, having surrounded the new fort on the bank of the Susquehanna River, they began a regular siege, with trenches and cannon. Ogden got into a boat one dark night, and silently steered down the stream, deceiving his enemies by means of a bundle of his clothes, which he caused to float at a distance behind him, and at which they directed their fire. He obtained 100 soldiers at Philadelphia, who marched under Captain Clayton: but one division of them was ambushed and defeated, while the other, after entering the fort, were obliged to capitulate in August, with the rest of the garrison, and leave the ground.

Complaint was made to Governor Trumbull, who declared that the colony had nothing to do with the proceedings of the settlers. At length, after they had remained for some time in quiet possession of the territory, and much increased in numbers, they made application for protection; the General Assembly, having already received an opinion favourable to their claim from four learned English council, determined, in 1773, to assert it, and sent commissioners to propose to Pennsylvania an amicable arrangement, or an application to the king for a settlement of the boundaries, or measures to preserve present harmony among the settlers. Governor Penn declined all these proposals, and the Assembly determined to extend their

jurisdiction over the settlement; and incorporating it as the town of Westmoreland, attached it to the county of Litchfield, and received a representative from it in the Assembly. A strong remonstrance was made to this act by a number of persons in Middletown: but representatives were still admitted from the new town, though much opposition was made by some persons in Connecticut, and pamphlets were published on both sides of the question.

“The actual state of religion in any country,” says Dr. Dwight, “must, of course, be an interesting object of investigation to every sober and intelligent man. To give you a correct view of this subject so far as New-England is concerned, it will be necessary to go back to the war which commenced in 1755 and terminated in 1763. Antecedently to the first of these periods, all the changes in the religious state of this country were such as left the principles of the inhabitants essentially the same. They were not changes of the commanding character, but shades of that character; through which it varied towards greater or less degrees of purity. From the first settlement of the country to the commencement of the war, the same reverence for God, the same justice, truth, and benevolence, the same opposition to inordinate indulgences of passion and appetite, prevailed without any material exceptions. A universal veneration for the Sabbath, a sacred respect for government, an undoubted belief in Divine revelation, and an unconditional acknowledgment and performance of the common social duties, constituted ever a prominent character. \* \* \* Vicious men constituted a small

part of the society ; were insignificant in their character ; and, independently of the power of example, had little or no influence on the community at large. They were objects of odium and contempt, of censure and punishment ; not the elements of a party, nor the firebrands of turmoil and confusion.

“ During this war, foreigners for the first time mingled extensively with the inhabitants of New-England. The colonial officers and soldiers, whose principles had in many instances been imperfectly formed, and whose ardent dispositions qualified them to decide rather than to reason, to act rather than to think, easily imbibed, in an army composed of those whom they were taught to regard as superiors, loose doctrines and licentious practices. In that army were many infidels. \* \* \* Many of the Americans were far from being dull proficient in such a school. The vices they loved, and soon found the principles necessary to quiet their consciences. \* \* \* The means which had been pursued to corrupt them, they now employed to corrupt others. From this *prima mali labes* (this first taint of evil) the contagion spread, not indeed through very great multitudes, but in little circles, surrounding the individuals originally infected.”

The revival of religion before referred to offered the principal antidote to this spreading poison.

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## CHAPTER XXXVIII. 1761-1762.

**Causes of the Revolution.**—The Colonists of New-England claim Equal Rights with the Inhabitants of England.—Reasons why the People of Connecticut valued their Charter.—First Restrictions on Trade.—The Navigation Act of 1651 never submitted to in New-England.—Restrictions on Imports in 1663.—Ditto on Trade between the Colonies, in 1672.—Board of Trade and the Colonies formed in 1696.—Restrictions on Manufactures commenced in 1699-1719.—The Erection of Manufactories forbidden, and the Making of various Articles.—Appeals from the Courts required in England in 1680.—Governors' Salaries.—Taxes.—A Change in the Government contemplated in 1763.—The Stamp Act.

AND now we approach the important period in which the Revolution separated our country from that of our ancestors; and history most plainly shows, that the cause which led to our national independence was the injustice of the British government in denying the civil rights which belonged to us as British subjects.

The founders of New-England always regarded themselves and their descendants as retaining the privileges which they had claimed, in common with their fellow-citizens in their native land; and these were always insisted on by successive generations. The charter of Connecticut confirmed these privileges; and hence its value in the eyes of the people. Every intimation ever made of a design to invade it, alarmed them at once; and how many assemblies were convoked, how many solemn deliberations were held, how many agents despatched to



London, what voluminous letters of instruction were written, what an amount of money, labour, solicitude, and prayer was bestowed, for the preservation of that possession, so highly prized for the one great principle which it contained! That document enclosed the seed of the revolution: for its friends were regarded as the friends of the colony; and nothing but opposition to that could make an enemy. They appear to have felt, from early times, prepared to defend it by force, if their weakness had permitted; and more than once the agents of royalty were intimidated by the display of their resolution. It was natural for other colonies to be influenced by the example of New-England; and we find that several of them also began early to urge the same claim to the privileges of Englishmen. These privileges were those of being free from exactions which they had no hand in imposing. They demanded the right of governing themselves either in England or in America. The former was not allowed, as they could send no representatives to Parliament; and, therefore, they refused to acknowledge the power of Parliament to govern them.

In 1640, as Governor Winthrop states, Massachusetts determined not to make application to Parliament for any favours, for fear that it might afford ground for their exercising some unjust authority in future. Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, in 1779, referring to this fact, declares that the colonies ever denied the right in Parliament to make laws for them "in all cases whatsoever." The "Act of Navigation," which was passed in 1651, and restricted almost the whole export

foreign trade of the colonies to English and colonial ships, was not enforced in New-England, because it was resisted as opposed to this principle.

Virginia was restricted in commerce almost from her first settlement, by being required to send all her exports to Great Britain. The Navigation Act was passed to prevent the Dutch from having the carrying-trade of the colonies ; and in 1663, in the reign of Charles II., the import trade was restricted nearly in like manner and for the same reason. The object avowed was to keep the colonies in a firmer dependance on England. But the restrictions did not stop here. In 1672 a duty was laid on sugar, tobacco, indigo, and cotton sent from one colony to another. Virginia petitioned against this act ; Rhode Island declared it unconstitutional ; and it was but little regarded in New-England, the vessels of which traded with all countries. In 1677 it was reported to the Lord's Committee for the Colonies, that Massachusetts paid no regard to the Navigation Act, but " would have all the world believe that they are a free state." The General Court said, when called to account, that they had never given their assent to the act, as the colony was not represented in Parliament ; and, therefore, it was not obligatory. They, however, ordered that the act should in future be observed. So early as 1687, the revenue laws were set at naught in Charleston.

The Board of Trade and Plantations was formed in the reign of William, in 1696 ; and, in connexion with acts of Parliament, greatly restricted the commerce of the colonies.

In 1699 began the restrictions on the manufac-

tures of the colonies, when it was forbidden to send any woollen manufacture out of the country. In 1719 the House of Commons declared "that the erecting of manufactories in the colonies tended to lessen their dependance upon Great Britain." English hatters, iron manufacturers, and others afterward petitioned that their own trades might be prohibited in the colonies; and this was done to a great extent. Iron forges, furnaces, &c., were even declared by law to be "nuisances;" and governors were required to abate them in thirty days, under penalty of £500.

The assemblies of most of the colonies were for many years allowed to exercise the power of the highest courts in all civil cases: but in 1680 the king and council claimed the right of hearing appeals. Connecticut denied this claim till 1701, when the royal demand was very peremptory. The Lords of Trade called this a "humour;" and spoke of the "independency" which the colonies "thirsted after" as "now notorious." On account of this spirit, a bill was brought into Parliament in 1701, to reunite the government in the crown. In 1702 the controversy began with Connecticut about the law on female heirs to estates, which was confirmed.

Some of the colonies also insisted on the right of appropriating their own money; and Massachusetts had a long contest, beginning in Governor Shute's time, and lasting thirty years, in which the representatives insisted on the right of determining the governor's salary. The question was at length yielded by the king: but the authority was again

claimed by Parliament in 1773, and this step was one of those which brought on the Revolution.

The colonies had long consented to pay external taxes, as they were regarded as designed for the regulation of the commerce of the British empire. But they had resisted internal taxes, or those intended for raising revenue. Walpole and Pitt, in turn, the greatest statesmen of England, had refused to force the latter upon them. Walpole had said that he was too great a friend of commerce to try it, and intimated that he should fear the result. Pitt declared that it could never be effected unless by an overwhelming force; and it would be ungenerous to attempt it so. Pitkin remarks, that England would not have dared to attempt it before the power of France was humbled in America. In 1760, however, the custom-house officers received orders to enforce the acts of trade, by seizing goods imported contrary to them, and even to enter stores, &c., in search of them, and to apply to the superior courts for "writs of assistance," to enable them to accomplish the object. These writs were opposed in Massachusetts with great zeal, and were restricted in their use. In Connecticut it does not appear that they were ever taken out, though they were threatened by the Board of Trade.

In 1762 it was declared that an important change was intended to be made in the government of the colonies; and several persons came from England to travel about the country, and give their opinions on the measures by which it might best be effected. Governor Bernard, of Massachusetts, proposed that an hereditary nobility should be created by the king, and that American representatives should

be admitted into Parliament as a favour, not as a right. In 1764 Lord Grenville, prime minister, informed the agents of the colonies in London that the king was determined to raise money in America to increase the revenue of Great Britain, and that he proposed to do it by a Stamp Act. The plan was, that all public and official documents should be required by law to be written on paper with a royal stamp, and that this paper should be sold at high prices by the government, according to the practice now pursued in many countries of Europe. Lord Grenville, at the same time, inquired whether any preferable measure could be proposed for the same object by the colonies. Parliament soon declared the duties which had been laid to be perpetual, and made naval commanders on the eastern coast custom-house officers, that they might seize vessels engaged in forbidden trade.

Petitions were sent to the king and Parliament by several of the colonies, including Connecticut; and, in 1765, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Ingersoll, agents of Pennsylvania and Connecticut in London, with Mr. Garth, of South Carolina, and Mr. Jackson, besought the council, if they must have money from the colonies, to leave it to the people to raise it. The petitions were not read in Parliament, and the Stamp Act was passed, after much opposition, by a large vote; and now a tax was to be paid for almost every paper used in law cases, by merchants in trading with each other, every newspaper and pamphlet except almanacs, and two pounds for every diploma received at a college. It was presumed that the people might not peaceably submit to all this, and another act was passed.

to compel them by force, by sending soldiers to the principal towns, whom the colonies were required to supply with provisions and other necessities.

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## CHAPTER XXXIX. 1765.

The first General Congress of the Colonies.—Declaration of Rights.—The Sons of Liberty.—The Stamp Act disregarded.—Taxes.—Riots.—Governor Gage sends troops to Boston to enforce the Acts of Parliament.—The Taxes repealed, except that on Tea.—Commerce with Boston forbidden.—The Government of Massachusetts overthrown.—General Gage Governor of that Colony.—Second Congress.—Boston Neck fortified.—Preparations for Defence.—First shedding of Blood at Concord.—Troops assemble around Boston.

VIRGINIA passed resolutions against the Stamp Act; the people of many parts of Connecticut expressed great opposition to it; and Massachusetts invited a Congress, which met in October at New-York, and was attended by commissioners from Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina. There was much difference of opinion on the measure in the country: some of the rulers as well as others thinking opposition to be treasonable. The Congress (which was the first designed to be a general one) published a Declaration of Rights, and sent an address to the king and petitions to Parliament. Connecticut had only authorized her commissioners to report:

and the Assembly approved of these proceedings.\* The merchants of New-York and Philadelphia agreed to import no goods from England until the Stamp Act should be repealed; and some of the people of Connecticut and New-York formed a society called the Sons of Liberty. They promised to march at once for the defence of places which might be in danger from opposition to the unpopular law, which they declared to be subversive of the principles of the British Constitution. Numerous publications appeared in favour of resistance.

The Stamp Act was probably as unpopular in Connecticut as in any of the colonies. On the 1st of November, the day on which it went into force, the inhabitants of Middletown muffled the bell and tolled it till night, colours flew at half mast before the townhouse and on the shipping, and minute-guns were fired. Toasts were drunk like the following: "Liberty, property, and no stamps." "Confusion to all enemies of liberty." Figures were borne about in the evening by a procession of 800, with inscriptions, and shouts in favour of "King George, Pitt, Conway, Barré, and all friends of liberty."

Mr. Ingersoll, distributor of stamps, published an address "to the good people of Connecticut" on the 24th of August, 1765, in which he informed them that he "meant a service" to them in accepting his office: "but, since it gives you some uneasiness, you may be assured, if I find (after the act takes place, which is the 1st of November) that you shall not incline to purchase or make use of

\* Extracts from many of the documents and speeches of those days will be found in *Pinkin's History of the United States*.

any stamped paper, I shall not force it upon you, nor think it worth my while to trouble you or myself with any exercise of my office." He closed with this remark, which strongly indicates the state of public feeling. "I cannot but wish you would think more how to get rid of the Stamp Act than of the officers who are to supply you with the paper, and that you had learned more of the nature of my office before you began to be so very angry at it."

On the 1st of November there was a general suspension of all business in the harbours, courts, &c., throughout the country. That was the day when the Stamp Act was to take effect; and every man refused to comply with it. Officers had declined, or resigned, or found nothing to do. It was, however, soon decided that business should proceed without regard to the law; and merchants, lawyers, judges, &c., were seen engaged in their customary employments, boldly using unstamped paper. In some of the cities the people became excited, and mobs were formed, by which property was destroyed, and some respectable citizens grossly abused. In short, the country was already ripe for revolution.

Parliament, in January, 1766, devoted several days to the consideration of these proceedings; and even Mr. Pitt joined in insisting on the right of taxing the colonies, though he thought it expedient not to exercise it. Resolutions were passed asserting that claim, and declaring that persons who had suffered for the Stamp Act should be protected, and have their property restored by the colonies. Benjamin Franklin was asked whether the



assemblies would erase from their records their expressions against taxation ; and replied, only if forced by arms.

A bill asserting the right of taxation, and another repealing the Stamp Act, were passed. The former declared the opposing acts of the colonies to be null. The repeal of the latter, caused great rejoicing in the colonies.

The news of the repeal of the Stamp Act was received with general satisfaction in Connecticut. The General Assembly, which was in session at Hartford, appointed the next Friday a day of general rejoicing, when bells were rung, flags displayed by the vessels, and a salute of 21 guns was fired. While preparations were going on for the firing of small arms by two companies of militia, a most melancholy accident occurred, which turned the day into one of mourning. The brick school-house was blown up, and about thirty persons were killed or wounded.

Although a new ministry was formed by Mr. Pitt in 1766, a bill laying a tax on several articles was carried while he was absent. A new board of customs was established in the colonies. New-York was forbidden to pass any act until she should make the required provision for the soldiers. Massachusetts was again the first to protest ; and the Boston collector and other officers were ill-treated by a mob, so that they retreated to the Castle, and Governor Bernard sent for troops. The merchants of that colony, Connecticut, and New-York, again agreed to make no importations ; and the citizens of Boston armed themselves. In September, General Gage, having received secret orders from Eng-

land, went to Boston two regiments, under Colonel Dalrymple; and soon after orders came from England to punish persons engaged in the disturbances. In 1769, when the Massachusetts legislature met, their hall was surrounded by troops.

In 1770, during Lord North's administration, Parliament repealed all the taxes laid on the colonies, except that on tea. Excitement, however, still continued, especially in Boston, where the governor, who was still paid by the king, had a body of British troops. A party of these, having been provoked by some of the citizens, fired among them, and killed and wounded eleven persons. The people demanded the immediate removal of the soldiers "at all hazards;" and they were sent to the Castle, which was on an island in the harbour.

In June, 1772, a spirited party of Rhode Islanders seized and burned a British revenue guardship, the *Gaspée*, which had been stationed in Providence River to enforce the obnoxious laws. In 1773 the famous cargo of tea was thrown into the harbour of Boston by disguised citizens; and, so violent had the members of Parliament now become, that in March following they forbade all commercial intercourse with that town. In May they authorized the king to appoint the council, and the governor to appoint and remove the judges of most of the courts; and also forbade the assembling of town meetings, and empowered sheriffs to select jurors. They also allowed the governor to send to England for trial persons complained of for acts done under the revenue laws.

In May General Gage arrived at Boston as gov-

ernor of Massachusetts. The succeeding months produced many expressions of sympathy, and pecuniary contributions to the Bostonians from other colonies, who considered them as suffering for the common cause.

The second general Congress was held in September, 1774, at Philadelphia, and sat with closed doors and under promise of secrecy. They drew a declaration of the rights of their constituents, and of the unjust and oppressive acts of the British government, including the extension of the province of Canada, and the establishment of the existing religion and a tyrannical government there. They also agreed that their constituents should form an association not to use goods imported from England and British possessions; and, in case the oppressive laws should not be repealed in September, 1775, to export to them nothing except rice. They also sent addresses to the colonies, Parliament, and Quebec. General Gage began to fortify Boston Neck, that he might at pleasure shut up the town; and Mr. Quincy was sent to England to remonstrate against this and other measures. In January, 1775, Parliament was importunately urged by Mr. Pitt to prevent the loss of America to the kingdom: but his powerful eloquence was unavailing, and they persevered in driving Massachusetts to desperation, and forced the country into war.

Parliament petitioned the king to reduce the Americans by force, representing them as bent on rebellion, and the time as favourable for crushing the monster, Revolution, in its birth. Some had said in debate that the colonists were cowards,

incapable of military discipline, and easy to be overcome. The king replied that he was resolved to follow their advice; and wished an increase of force. Parliament then restricted the commerce of all the colonies except New-York and North Carolina, and deprived New-England of the fisheries, expecting to starve them into submission. Dr. Franklin proposed to some of the ministry a plan of reconciliation, which was not agreed to; after which Lord North proposed another, in order, as he said, to try whether the Americans were sincere.

In the mean time, delegates were appointed for the proposed third Congress; and the ferment of feeling was strong throughout the country, especially in Massachusetts, which was evidently marked out as the first point of assault. On the 26th of October they had directed that one fourth of the militia should be armed, equipped, and stand ready for action at a moment's warning, whence they were denominated "minute men." It was resolved that the Americans should not be the aggressors: but that the people should not be unprepared for defence; and large supplies of arms and provisions were collected at Worcester and Concord. News soon arrived in Connecticut which caused the deepest sensation.

In every village the people were called out by the beating of drums, which was the manner in which an "alarm" was spread in those days, or an "alarm," as it was popularly called; and they were informed that General Gage, on the 18th of April, had sent a detachment of 800 soldiers to destroy the stores at Concord, fired on a few men assem-

bled to prevent them, and returned to Boston with heavy loss. This report of "the first shedding of blood" roused the feelings of all; and hundreds of men were immediately to be seen on the roads leading from Connecticut to Massachusetts, with their muskets on their shoulders.

When the news reached Brooklyn, Connecticut, General Israel Putnam was at work in his field; and, as soon as he heard it, he unyoked his cattle, left the plough in the furrow, mounted his horse, and set off for Boston, without waiting even to change his clothes. He soon returned, raised a regiment, and marched it to Cambridge.

He was born at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1718, and was distinguished by his plain manners and personal strength in his youth. He removed to Pomfret, Connecticut, in 1739, where he cultivated a large farm.

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## CHAPTER XL. 1775.

Surprise of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.—Re-enforcements arrive at Boston from England.—The Battle of Breed's or Bunker's Hill.—Militia sent from the neighbouring Colonies.—General Wooster marches, with 2000 Connecticut Militia, to protect New-York.—Congress order the raising of an Army.—They appoint Washington Commander-in-chief.—Condition of Boston on his Arrival.—Expedition to Quebec.—Marauding in Long Island Sound.

WHEN the news of the battle of Lexington reached New-Haven, the governor's guards were called out by Captain Benedict Arnold (afterward

a distinguished officer, and finally a traitor), and invited to march to the scene of action. About 40 of them consented, and he applied to the selectmen for powder. The next morning he obtained a supply by threatening to take it by force, and marched. He halted that night at Wethersfield, where they were hospitably received, and then proceeded to Massachusetts. Arnold's men so much excelled the other troops in uniform and discipline, that they were selected to deliver to the British the body of one of their deceased officers, and were much complimented by the enemy. About one quarter of these men afterward accompanied Arnold to Canada : but the others returned home in about three weeks.

The Connecticut soldiers who had flocked to the scene of excitement soon placed themselves under the command of Putnam, whose athletic frame, bold and active mind, prompt and determined air, added to his experience in military affairs and ardent patriotism, marked him at once as the man best qualified to direct and lead them. From the heights which they ascended, the Americans could overlook Boston and overawe the enemy, who had already shut themselves up closely within its narrow peninsula. Putnam, having served in the French war under General Gage, well knew his character and abilities ; and, considering the amount of force which he had at his command, our officers thought best to send home all their own, excepting a limited number of troops, in the existing state of things. Roxbury Neck was kept strongly guarded, being the only way by which the enemy could leave the town by land ; and thus things remained for a time without material alteration.

In this interval, however, an important enterprise was undertaken in another part of the country.

Several gentlemen in Connecticut, at this important juncture, conceived the design of seizing the fortresses of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. As they were occupied by feeble garrisons, it was thought that they might easily be seized without bloodshed: but, if allowed to remain much longer in the hands of the British, they would soon be filled with troops, to the great injury of the country. The suggestion was immediately acted upon by the government of the colony. They secretly despatched 40 men under the patriotic officers Dean, Wooster, and Parsons. These communicated with Ethan Allen, a native of Litchfield, but for some time a leader of the Green Mountain Boys, in their opposition to the New-York claimants of land in the present state of Vermont. He engaged in the enterprise with the greatest zeal, and, with Captain Warner, collected 230 men. In the mean time, Benedict Arnold had conceived a similar scheme, and received authority from the Massachusetts government to raise 400 men to seize those fortresses. Being unsuccessful in finding volunteers, he proceeded to Lake Champlain, accompanied only by his servant, and joined the expedition.

Having collected all the boats they could find, they prepared to embark at Shoreham in the night: but only eighty men were able to cross together; and these, proceeding with muffled oars, soon reached the gate of the fort. A sentinel hailed them, and snapped his musket on receiving no answer: but he was seized, and the assailants, in a mo

### 334 SURPRISE OF TICONDEROGA, ETC. [1775.

ment, were in the midst of the fortress, in the parade, loudly demanding a surrender. The English commander soon appeared at an upper window; and, finding that resistance would be vain, gave up the place. With what joy did the patriotic little band survey the massive gates and solid walls, redoubts, and bastions, with all their artillery, ammunition, and stores, which, by the favour of Providence, were now placed in their charge, to be held as one of the chief bulwarks of their native country!

Captain Warner hastened off, at the head of a detachment, to seize upon the sister fortress of Crown Point, similarly situated a few miles down the lake, and was equally successful in taking it by surprise, and without the loss of life. Skeenesborough, now Whitehall, also fell into the hands of these resolute men; and Arnold, embarking in a schooner, proceeded to Canada, and captured a British sloop-of-war at the outlet of Lake Champlain.

Measures were soon taken by Connecticut to garrison these posts; and it was agreed that New-York should supply them with provisions. This was so promptly done, that General Schuyler, in a return made to General Washington on the 15th of July, of the troops under his command in the northern department, stated the Connecticut troops under General Wooster at 1505, and those at Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Fort George at 978; while only 205 New-York men were in Fort George, and 174 from Massachusetts in all those forts.

Thus the principal route to Canada was brought



into the possession of the Americans, with every advantage for assault or defence in that quarter. Still the Congress were expecting and desiring an accommodation of the dispute with England; and, on hearing of this success, they recommended that a faithful inventory should be taken of all the king's property captured, that it might be restored when existing difficulties should be removed.

This wish, however, was not to be gratified; for the king and his ministers, stimulated by pride, and blinded by passion and ignorance, had resolved to subdue the spirit of the Americans by force; and, in the spring, large re-enforcements arrived at Boston, under Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne. Pardon having been offered to all the "rebels" except Hancock and Adams, General Gage prepared to march into the country; and a large body of militia having again assembled, their generals determined to occupy Bunker's Hill, on Charlestown Neck, very near Boston. Captain Knowlton, of Connecticut, was sent in the night of the 16th of June, 1775, to occupy it, with Colonel Prescott, of Massachusetts, and Colonel Stark, of New-Hampshire. In the darkness they mistook the spot, and began to fortify Breed's Hill, an inferior eminence, and a spur of Bunker's Hill, still nearer to Boston. The particulars of the battle of the 17th, which here opened the first campaign of the Revolutionary War, need not be given here. Though finally driven from the ground after three charges by 3000 regular troops, just double their number; though they had 453 killed and wounded, their resolution and efficiency were so great, that this action had a great influence on subsequent

events. In this celebrated battle Connecticut had her full share of labour and suffering. Captain Knowlton, from that colony, was one of the most forward, while Putnam was as prompt in assuming the command as his numerous friends were in yielding him ready obedience, when there was no authority to appoint a leader or to call out the people.

Immediately after the battle, the British main body began to intrench themselves on Bunker's Hill; and, not thinking proper to pursue the patriots, left them to fortify themselves on the opposite side of Mystic River. The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts immediately ordered 15,000 men to be raised, and sent an urgent request to the other New-England colonies to furnish an equal number. Governor Trumbull,\* of Connecticut, though already at an advanced age, exerted himself with the zeal, intelligence, and success which attended that devoted and distinguished patriot to the end of the war.

The General Assembly of Connecticut immediately ordered that an army should be raised for their defence, which was put under the command of

\* Jonathan Trumbull resided at Lebanon, where his house remains, as well as the building in which the public business under his direction, during the war, was transacted. It was called the War Office; and bears the marks of that plainness and simplicity which characterized the state of society in those times. An ancestor of Governor Trumbull emigrated from England, and settled at Ipswich in 1645. His son John lived in Suffield, and had three sons: John, Joseph, and Benoni. Joseph settled in Lebanon, and had but one son, who was the governor. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1727, and became a merchant. The numerous papers which he left, most of which are preserved by the Historical Society of Connecticut, were filed and preserved with the greatest care.

General David Wooster, of New-Haven, and stationed along the coast of the Sound. A regiment was also ordered to be enlisted for the Continental service, under General Jedediah Huntington, of Norwich.

For that period of the war, many of the troops were commanded by the men who had raised them; so that many of the officers who first appeared at the camp held their authority and rank on no other ground of merit but that of having had success in drawing out soldiers. This was not generally the case with those of Connecticut, because the General Assembly so early took the appointments into their own hands. The people came readily into the field, impelled by a high sense of duty to their brethren of Massachusetts, as well as to the cause of mankind, which they believed to be in some degree intrusted to them. With the preparation they had had, by the patriotic sentiments so assiduously circulated by the leading and sagacious statesmen of the day, persons of all ages were warmly interested in the common cause. Resistance to the oppressors of America was the general cry; and while the aged approved the sentiments of the governor and the measures of the Assembly, they prayed for success to the God of battles, and encouraged the young to buckle on their armour.\*

\* The following extracts are from a pamphlet published by the Reverend Daniel Barber, of Connecticut, in 1831, entitled "the History of my Own Times." They give a lively picture of the state of things at the period at which we have arrived.

"Immediately after the battle of Bunker's Hill, in 1775, orders were issued for raising a regiment of Connecticut troops, for the term of five months, under Colonel Jedediah Huntington,

A portion of the forces of that colony soon found opportunity to operate in favour of the common

of Norwich. I enlisted under Captain Elisha Humphrey, of Simsbury. \* \* \* Our company, being suddenly enlisted, to the number of about seventy-five, rank and file, orders were given for all to meet on a certain day at the house of the captain, well equipped, and ready to begin the march.

"The Reverend Mr. Pitkin, of Farmington, was requested that day to preach the farewell sermon to the soldiers. At the appointed hour we marched to the meeting-house, where the officers appeared in military style, with their appropriate badges of distinction, and the soldiers in proper order, with their arms and accoutrements, as men prepared for battle. It was a full and overflowing audience, all in high expectation of something new and charming from so gifted a preacher. After his warm and fervent prayer to Heaven for the success and prosperity of American armies, and the liberties and freedom of our country, he introduced his address, if I remember right, from these words: 'Play the man for your country, and for the cities of your God; and the Lord do that which seemeth him good.' His sermon was tender and pathetic, lively and animating. It was like martial music; while it touched the finer feelings, it roused and animated for the dreadful onset—the shout of war and the cry of victory. During the time of its delivery, abundance of tears was seen to flow, both from old and young, male as well as female.

"The sermon being ended, the drums soon beat to arms. Being arranged in military order, we were again conducted to the captain's house, and dismissed for a short time. In going to and from the meeting, we were followed and accompanied by a mixed multitude—fathers and mothers, wives and children, sisters, friends, and strangers. \* \* \* In the midst of this mingling scene of sorrow, the drum beat to arms. Soldiers, take your places, is the word; the line of march is formed; we add one more wishful, lingering look, while many a silent tear bespeaks the real feelings of the heart. The word is given. We begin our march with silence, downcast looks, and pensive feelings and reflections. We were now leaving our homes, our friends, and all our pleasant places behind, which our eyes might never behold again.

"The most of us had not, at that time, I believe, been twenty miles from home. After marching a while, we began to give way to more cheerful and lively feelings. We marched about eight miles that afternoon; at night put up at Mr. James Marsh's inn. Here, for the first time, I slept as a soldier on the

cause in another quarter. General Wooster, who had commanded a regiment through the French

floor, with a cartridge-box for my pillow. At that period, horse-wagons being very little in use, an ox-team was provided to carry our provision by the way and a barrel of rum. Our provision was salt pork and pease. Wherever we stopped, a large kettle was hung over the fire, in which the salt meat was put without freshening, and the dry pease without soaking. Cooks and stewards were appointed, who took charge of the table department. When all was ready, a stroke on the drum was the signal to eat; and we were generally hungry enough to stand in need of no great urging.

"While passing through Connecticut, the females were very polite in lending us knives and forks; but after entering Massachusetts we were not allowed the like favour, without pledging money or some other kind of property, the people saying they had lost many of their spoons by the soldiers who had gone before us. \* \* \* Our bread was hard biscuit, in which there was a small quantity of lime, just sufficient to make the mouth sore. They were so hard that the soldiers called them candlestick bottoms.

"Now, for the first time, we travelled on the Lord's day, under arms, and passed meeting-houses in the time of worship, with drums and fifes playing martial music; all which was calculated to afford to a New-England man some doubts and reflections, whether God would be as well pleased with parade and military performance as if we had stayed at home to read our Bibles, or went to meeting to hear the minister. But military discipline and the habits of a soldier soon effected a degree of relaxation in most of us. In process of time, many, once pious, at least in form and appearance, came into the practice of treating all days nearly alike; yet there were some who kept the practice of reading Watts' Psalms and Hymns as a book of devotion.

"It is natural to expect that soldiers under arms are not generally inclined to the same degree of civility as others, or as they ought to be; though this is not always the case. Yet, at the period at which I am speaking, and during our march, it was not uncommon, if a soldier thought himself not well treated by an innkeeper, to show his resentment by shooting a ball through his sign.

"In our march through Connecticut, the inhabitants seemed to view us with tokens of joy and gladness, and by them we were treated with common civility, and a respect due us as soldiers; but when we came into Massachusetts, and advanced

war, while exercising the command of all the troops of the colony, and stationed along the Sound to resist the enemy if they should make an expected attempt upon the coast, was requested by the Provincial Congress of New-York to be ready to oppose a British regiment which was looked for from Ireland. The government of Connecticut cheerfully granting him permission, on the 28th of June he went, with 1800 men, and awaited the enemy at the distance of five miles from the city. The following extract of a letter to the general from the New-York Congress bears gratifying testimony to the colony, as well as to himself. "The honest zeal which inspirits the bosoms of our countrymen in Connecticut commands our highest praise."

The third general Congress, in May, agreed to

nearer to Boston, the inhabitants, wherever we stopped, seemed to have no better opinion of us than (except the officers) if we had been a banditti of rogues and thieves. This served to mortify our feelings, and sometimes drew from us expressions of angry resentment.

"After about nine or ten days' marching, in company with our ox-team, loaded with our salt pork, pease, and candlestick bottoms for bread, and the barrel of rum to cheer our spirits and wash our feet, which began to be sore by travelling, we came to Roxbury, the place of our destination. Here the place of our encampment was already marked out, and a part of our regiment on the spot. For every six soldiers there was a tent provided. The ground it covered was about six or seven feet square. This served for kitchen, parlour, and hall. The green turf, covered with a blanket, was our bed and bedstead. When we turned in for the night, we had to lie perfectly straight, like candles in a box: this was not pleasant to our hip bones and knee joints, which often, in the night, would wake us, and beg us to turn over. Our household utensils, all together, were an iron pot, a canteen or wooden bottle holding two quarts, a pail, and wooden bowl. Each had to do his own washing, and take his turn at the cookery."

petition the king for opening a negotiation to accommodate the dispute, and to send an address to the people of Great Britain and Quebec. They then, on the 22d, appointed George Washington commander-in-chief, and promised to maintain, assist, and adhere to him with their lives and fortunes, while they enjoined upon him special care "that the liberties of America receive no detriment." On the 6th of July they declared the causes which led them to take up arms. Washington was already at the head of the troops assembled about Boston, and committees of safety, according to the recommendation of Congress, were in active operation in the colonies. Paper money, to the amount of three millions, was soon issued by the United Colonies, each colony being bound to redeem its settled proportion. In July, Georgia, the last of the thirteen colonies, joined the Union. The people had now possession of the arms, ammunition, and, generally, of the public money, before under the control of the royal governors; and associations were formed to secure the public peace.

Still independence was not yet the object of the colonies, as is proved by many documents published in all parts of the country. Only the county of Mecklenburgh, North Carolina, had declared their allegiance to the king to be absolved and broken.

Connecticut was very differently situated at the commencement of the war from some of the other states. While the governors of Virginia, New-Jersey, and New-York, as well as Massachusetts, were among the decided loyalists, Jonathan Trumbull, the governor of Connecticut, was wholly de-

voted to the cause of the country, while the vast majority of the people were his warm and unwavering supporters.

On General Washington's approach to the city of New-York, the city authorities debated whether they should receive him with public honours, or reserve them for a British officer of distinction who was hourly expected from England; and it has been thought that the former would have passed unnoticed by them had the latter first arrived. There was no such vacillation or coolness in Connecticut. The commander-in-chief was welcomed with open arms and by all classes. He reached New-Haven early in July, accompanied by General Lee and Major Mifflin; and the next day was escorted for some miles by two military companies, a body of citizens, and a number of the students of Yale College. Of the sentiments of the state, as well as of those entertained by the distinguished patriot, statesman, and Christian who then held the highest office in the colony, some opinion may be formed by the following

*Extracts from a letter from Governor Trumbull to General Washington, dated July 13th, 1775.*

“Suffer me to join in congratulating you on your appointment to be general and commander-in-chief of the troops raised or to be raised for the defence of American liberty. Men who have tasted of freedom, and who have felt their personal rights, are not easily taught to bear with encroachments on either, or brought to submit to oppression. Virtue ought always to be made the object of government; justice is firm and permanent.



“His majesty’s ministers have artfully induced Parliament to join in their measures, to prosecute the dangerous and increasing difference between Great Britain and these colonies with rigour and military force ; whereby the latter are driven by an absolute necessity to defend their rights and properties, by raising forces for their security. The honourable Congress have, with one united voice, appointed you to the high station you possess. The Supreme Director of all events has caused a wonderful union of hearts and counsels to subsist among us. Now, therefore, be strong and very courageous. May the God of the armies of Israel shower down the blessings of his divine Providence upon you, give you wisdom and fortitude, cover your head in the day of battle and danger, add success, convince our enemies of their mistaken measures, and that all their attempts to deprive these colonies of their constitutional rights and liberties are injurious and vain.”

On the 3d of June Washington reached the army, assumed the command, and established his headquarters at Cambridge. There the reserve, consisting of the Massachusetts troops, was quartered in the college buildings and neighbouring dwelling-houses. He immediately visited the several posts occupied by the Americans, the number of whom was only 11,500, when, at least, 23,000 were considered necessary to act against the supposed force of the enemy.

The Connecticut troops must have received General Washington with an enthusiasm no way inferior to that which pervaded the ranks of the army in general, when he climbed to their camp and for-

tifications on Prospect Hill, attended by their favourite leader Putnam, to whom, and to whom alone, he had already given one of the commissions of major-general intrusted to him by Congress. From that commanding position they could look down upon the main body of the British troops, then actively engaged in strongly intrenching themselves on Bunker's Hill, a fine eminence on Charlestown Neck, scarcely more than a mile distant. At the base of it were seen the ruins of the village lately destroyed by fire. The Connecticut soldiers, most of whom had never before been in the field, could see from their commanding height the town of Boston, with the strong intrenchments formed on Copp's Hill, then occupied by a small force: there being only the British light-horse and a few cavalry in the town. Roxbury Neck, the narrow isthmus connecting it with the main land, was guarded by strong intrenchments, well supplied with cannon, and manned by all the remaining British forces. Near at hand were three floating batteries in Mystic River, while a twenty-gun ship lay below the ferry between Boston and Charlestown. The first council of war, held on the 19th, estimated the enemy's force at 11,500 men.

Such was the position of the enemy: while the American extreme left was formed by about 2000 New-Hampshiremen and some Rhode Islanders on Winter Hill, which rose near at hand from the shore of Mystic River. The Connecticut post lay next; and the line swept round in a noble semicircle of twelve miles, taking in Sewal's Farm, with the Rhode Island main body behind its fresh embankments, and a large number of Massachusetts troops at Cambridge, the centre.

Extending their view towards the south, there were to be seen many little redoubts scattered along the shore of Charles River or Bay, where small parties of Massachusetts men stood ready to prevent every boat from landing ; and, finally, the right, which was at Roxbury. There a high bank, and a broad and deep trench, showed where a portion of the Connecticut troops had joined nine Massachusetts regiments, with equal resolution to watch the neighbouring line of the enemy across the isthmus, and to resist any attempt to pass it. From the height of Prospect Hill, many Connecticut men caught the first view of military scenes ; and there began their laborious and dangerous career, which many of them pursued to the end of the war, borne up by that ardent and unconquerable patriotism, without which it could not have met a prosperous termination. Their vigorous arms assisted in digging many of those deep intrenchments which we still see near Boston.

Here began also the labours and trials of the commander-in-chief, which were more severe and not less prolonged : for, although it is evident, from his modest, manly, and patriotic address to Congress on receiving his appointment, that he anticipated great difficulties, his letters from Cambridge show that they were more numerous and formidable than he was prepared for. He had only given out the first commission, viz., that to General Putnam, when he learned that great dissatisfaction already prevailed among the troops, especially the officers, some of whom had been superseded by their juniors, and others had other grounds of complaint. General Pomeroy, of Massachusetts, who had great-

ly distinguished himself at Bunker Hill, was so much disaffected that he refused to join the Continental army, and returned home.

Washington therefore declined conferring the other commissions, and requested Congress to make the appointments ; and accordingly, on the 22d of June, they appointed the following brigadier generals : Seth Pomeroy, of Massachusetts, Richard Montgomery, of New-York, David Wooster, of Connecticut, William Heath, of Massachusetts, Joseph Spencer, of Connecticut, John Thomas, of Massachusetts, John Sullivan, of New-Hampshire, and Nathaniel Greene, of Rhode Island. General Spencer at first declined his commission, but afterward determined to serve under Putnam, though he had commanded him ; and, by Washington's great exertions and prudence, jealousies were overcome. The want of powder and money caused great uneasiness, as well as the bad state of the commissary department. Washington, in his first letter to Congress, proposed that a commissary-general should be appointed, after the plan adopted in Connecticut, "whose troops," said he, "are extremely well provided under the direction of Mr. Trumbull ; and he has, at different times, assisted others with various articles." He proposed Mr. Trumbull (a son of the governor) for that office ; and he received the appointment. The regiments from different colonies were of different sizes : those of Massachusetts containing about 800 men, while those of Connecticut, which were the largest, consisted of 1100.

Besides all these difficulties, other very serious ones were threatened by the short periods of en-

listments. The Connecticut troops had engaged to serve only until the 1st of December; and, by the close of the year, there was apprehension that the entire army would be disbanded about that time; and that the enemy were awaiting that period to come out from their defences and lay waste the country. To remedy the various evils or to avoid their ill consequences, Washington was anxiously devoting much of his time; and Governor Trumbull sympathized deeply with him, and was one of his most active and efficient co-operators. Washington, however, found leisure to carry on an extensive correspondence, and to plan and despatch an expedition into Canada, to capture Quebec and co-operate with General Schuyler, who went down Lake Champlain, and, after some weeks, took Montreal. General Arnold was placed in the command of 1500 men, and conducted them (except a party who returned) through every hardship, by the way of Kennebeck River, through the wilderness of Maine to the St. Lawrence, calculating on being joined by the people and Indians. In these expectations he was disappointed, as well as in his hopes of capturing the city. It had been proposed to leave General Wooster at Ticonderoga, fearing he would not serve under Montgomery: but the Connecticut troops who had garrisoned the forts on the lake, having been raised by the colony, chose to act under its authority, and were unwilling to go to Canada unless led by General Wooster. He also, with a patriotic disinterestedness, declared that he would serve under Montgomery, though his junior, out of love for the country; and

the Connecticut troops went with him against St. John's and Montreal.

The results of Arnold's expedition are well known. After scaling the steep rocks to the Plains of Abraham with his troops, and suffering long and greatly while besieging Quebec, at length, being joined by Montgomery in a night attack on the city, in a snowstorm, the latter was killed, a considerable number were made prisoners, and the remainder were forced to retire, though large reinforcements were sent.

In September, 1775, some English vessels from Boston, which had committed depredations on different parts of the coast of New-England, appeared near Connecticut. They had burned Falmouth, now Portland, and afterward bombarded Stonington and New-London, and robbed some of the small islands in the Sound of considerable property. Governor Trumbull ordered several companies of troops, which had been enlisted for the Continental army, to remain near the coast, giving General Washington notice, in a letter on the 5th of September. Washington, however, without making any reply, on the 8th sent orders for the troops to march immediately to Boston. Governor Trumbull expressed regret and surprise; and the commander-in-chief justified himself by saying that Congress had directed that such local service must be committed to the militia, and that he had no discretionary power in the case, greatly regretting that he could not extend protection to every place exposed to the enemy. This appears to have been the only instance in which even the slightest dissatisfaction existed in Connecticut with the measures

of the commander-in-chief; and it was but momentary, and arose chiefly from his neglect to answer the governor's first letter. The new levies from Connecticut had marched into camp before the 12th of October, when Washington remarked in one of his letters, "they are a body of as good troops as any we have."

Persons favourable to the British interest, about this time, it appears, caused much disquietude in Connecticut: as Governor Trumbull wrote to Washington in November, inquiring whether they ought not to be seized, and prevented from counteracting the spirit of the people. Dr. Church, who was taken on suspicion of treason, was sent to Connecticut, to be kept by Governor Trumbull in close confinement. An English prisoner, a Major French, who had been sent to Hartford from Philadelphia for safe keeping, made repeated complaints, because he was not permitted to wear his sword: but Washington replied that for any inconvenience to which he might be put, he must consider his countrymen in Boston to blame, as they had treated American prisoners with unnecessary severity.

Congress were very desirous of preventing the Indians from engaging in the war; and, on the 12th of July, 1775, formed an Indian Department to treat with them, "to preserve peace and friendship, and to prevent their taking any part in the present commotions." It was divided into three sub-departments, northern, middle, and southern; and Mr. Oliver Wolcott was appointed one of the five commissioners of the first. A plan of the addresses to be made by them to the different tribes was drawn up by Congress, in the figurative lan-

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guage usually employed on such occasions, which was to be varied in points of minor importance to suit circumstances. The following extracts plainly show that the honest intention was to secure the neutrality of the Indians.

“This is a family quarrel between us and Old England. You Indians are not concerned in it. We do not wish you to take up the hatchet against the king's troops. We desire you to remain at home, and not join on either side, but keep the hatchet buried deep. In the name and behalf of all our beloved people, we ask you to love peace and maintain it, and to love and sympathize with us in our troubles.”

It is so inhuman to induce Indians to attack defenceless people, and destroy peaceful and harmless families, that every American must feel gratified to read the following declaration, which was made in the British parliament by Mr. Burke, on the 6th of February, 1778. “No proof whatever,” he said, “had been given of the Americans having attempted offensive alliances with any one tribe of savages; whereas the imperfect papers now before that house demonstrated that the king's ministers had negotiated and obtained such alliances from one end of the Continent of America to the other; that the Americans had actually made a treaty on the footing of neutrality with the famous Five Nations, which the king's ministers had bribed them to violate, and to act offensively against the colonies; that no attempt had been made in a single instance to procure a neutrality; that if the fact had been that the Americans had actually employed those savages, yet the difference of employing them against



armed and trained soldiers, imbodyed and encamped, and employing them against the unarmed and defenceless men, women, and children of a country, dispersed in their houses, was manifest, and left those who attempted so inhuman and unequal a retaliation without excuse."

It has always been unaccountable that the British army made no attempt to raise the siege of Boston. They could hardly have been ignorant of the changeable state of the army and their want of powder. They, however, suffered themselves to be shut in on the land side; and several times the Americans proposed a general attack. On the 5th of October Washington described the situation of the enemy as "in a manner surrounded by ships of war and floating batteries," so that it would be "impossible to break their lines without great slaughter on our side, or cowardice on theirs, so that we could do no more than keep them besieged, which they are, to all effects and purposes, as closely as any troops on earth can be, who have an opening to the sea." The advanced works were within musket-shot, and the British troops kept up a daily cannonade.

## CHAPTER XLI. 1775-1776.

Discontent of the Militia at Boston.—Spirited Measures of Connecticut to furnish Re-enforcements.—Volunteers raised there for New-York.—Colonel Knowlton.—News of the Disasters in Canada.—Troops sent thither.—Preparations to evacuate Boston.—Washington occupies Lechmere's Point and Dorchester Heights.—The British retire in Haste.—The Americans enter and occupy Boston.—The Troops sent off to New-York in Detachments.—Military Arrangements.—Loyalists sent to Connecticut for Security.

As the time approached when the enlistments would expire, Congress appointed a committee to confer with committees of the New-England colonies on measures to be taken; and Connecticut appointed Messrs. Griswold and Wales to attend the important council. They proceeded to Cambridge, and the conference was opened on the 18th of October, the commander-in-chief being present. The proceedings of a council of war were laid before them, which were generally adopted; and it was agreed that the army ought not to be less than 20,372 men, or twenty-six regiments of eight companies, exclusive of riflemen and artillery; and that as many of the present troops as possible should be re-enlisted. It was thought that 20,000 might be raised in Massachusetts, 8000 in Connecticut, 3000 in New-Hampshire, and 1500 in Rhode Island. Other business having been done, the conference closed on the 22d.

The Connecticut troops at Boston did not in-

cine to enlist again ; and, as the term of service of most of them would expire from the 1st to the 10th of December, Washington learned with regret that they were resolved to return home at that time, especially as the enemy were receiving reinforcements, and he thought they designed an attack.

The officers had at first expressed a strong opinion that they would consent to remain until the 1st of January, when they might hope to be relieved by others : but the men refused ; and, by the 1st of December, many left the lines to return home, some before their term had expired, and taking their arms and ammunition with them. Colonel Trumbull was sent to recall them, and many returned. Washington wrote to Governor Trumbull, inquiring "whether an example should not be made of these men, who have basely deserted the cause of their country at this critical juncture." The governor replied, that "the late extraordinary and reprehensible conduct of some of the troops of this colony impresses me, and the minds of many of our people, with grief, surprise, and indignation." He added, "the pulse of a New-England man beats high for liberty ; his engagement in the service he thinks purely voluntary ; therefore, when his term of enlistment is out, he thinks himself not holden without farther engagement. This was the case in the last war." He stated, that he had determined to call the General Assembly together at New-Haven on the 14th, and requested Washington to suggest anything he might wish to have submitted to them.

It appears, however, that all except 80 of the

Connecticut troops consented to remain until the 10th; and Washington called in 3000 men from Massachusetts and 2000 from New-Hampshire to take their places; but he had serious apprehensions that all the other troops would leave him at the expiration of their terms, as the enlistments went on very slowly. The Rev. Mr. Leonard, chaplain to the Connecticut troops, received high recommendation from the commander-in-chief, not only for his general conduct and the discharge of his duties, but for "a sensible and judicious discourse" at the time of difficulty. Governor Trumbull acquainted Washington that many of the inhabitants of his colony, on hearing of the conduct of the troops, had offered to march to the camp to supply their places. The General Assembly, about the close of the year, adopted a measure which showed their zeal, and afforded great satisfaction to the commander-in-chief. They passed an act for raising and equipping, by voluntary enlistment, one fourth part of the militia of the colony, and all the exempts who might be willing to act as minute men for the defence of any of the colonies. They also declared forfeit the estates of persons guilty of aiding or informing the enemy, or receiving British protections; and the former, also, liable to imprisonment for three years. Speaking or writing against the acts of Congress or the Assembly was made punishable by disarming, disqualification from holding any office, and even imprisonment. It was farther resolved to provide two vessels of 14 and 16 guns, a spy-schooner of 4, and four row-galleys; the soldiers of the last and the ensuing campaigns were released from the poll-

tax; and encouragement was offered for the making of saltpetre and gunpowder. A furnace was in operation at the lead-mine in Middletown; and the governor wrote to the commander-in-chief on the 1st of January, 1776, that 20 or 30 tons of lead might be expected to be smelted.

As it was supposed that they intended to seize upon Newport or New-York, Major-general Lee was first sent to the former place, to determine how it might be best put in a posture of defence. He was afterward ordered to New-York, to fortify that city in the best manner, with letters to Governor Trumbull from Washington, who requested that volunteers might be raised in Connecticut to serve under him, and hoped they might be obtained without farther expense to the country than their maintenance. Washington afterward directed Lee to take two regiments to Long Island, and act against the numerous royalists there; but Congress countermanded the order; and Washington, with an expression of regret, ordered Lee to disband his troops as soon as he could do it with safety.

About the middle of January, a bold and successful blow was struck at Charlestown by Major Knowlton and a party of his Connecticut soldiers. Taking advantage of a stormy night, they crossed the milldam, captured several British soldiers, and burned eight houses near Bunker's Hill.

Great hopes had been entertained of the success of the expedition against Quebec, although the Canadians and Indians appeared backward: but about the middle of January news arrived of the unfortunate attempt made against that city on the night of December 25th, the death of Montgomery and

the wounding of Arnold. Colonel Warner immediately set off for Canada with the Connecticut troops under his command, to assist the unfortunate survivors; and Governor Trumbull called the Council of Safety, who at once ordered 750 men to be raised for Canada. Soon after, he received notice from Washington that a council of war had determined to request the New-England colonies to raise thirteen regiments for the purpose of making a general attack on Boston, of which four regiments were apportioned to Connecticut; and that a later council, which had met since the arrival of the news from Quebec, had determined that three of the regiments should be sent to Canada. It was equally gratifying to the governor and the commander-in-chief that Connecticut had so far anticipated this requisition. The three regiments were soon raised, and that from Connecticut was placed under the command of Colonel Burrell. Congress also ordered nine battalions on the same service. In spite of all these exertions, however, the Canadians were too ignorant to feel their injuries or to perceive their duties to themselves or their posterity; and, having no affection for liberty, which they had never enjoyed nor understood, they showed no sympathy with those who had come to assist them, with very erroneous impressions of their character and wishes.

It was happy for the American prisoners at Quebec that so kind and humane a man as General Carleton was then in command at that city. When Major Meigs returned a few months afterward, having been one of the prisoners, he spoke in terms of gratitude of his humanity and kindness.

The soldiers were confined in the Jesuits' College, and the officers in the seminary; and all enjoyed as much liberty and as many privileges as could have been reasonable: while some of them, on their release, were furnished with clothing, and the sick and wounded were treated with tenderness in the hospital.

Towards the close of February the British removed their two mortars from Bunker's Hill, shipped their brass-cannon, and had their vessels prepared for sea. From these and other circumstances, it was presumed that they intended to evacuate Boston; and Washington extended his line to Lechmere's Point, though fearful of weakening it. With great labour, strong batteries were erected there in the frozen ground, which commanded a large part of Boston. During the night of the 4th of March, General Thomas was sent to occupy Dorchester Heights, which he fortified with a vast quantity of fascines and chandeliers before the dawn of morning.

The enemy, having been prevented by a storm from attacking the position before it was too strong, finding that some inferior and nearer eminences could command the harbour and town, began to load their ships in the greatest haste. On the 17th their troops were seen marching down Bunker's Hill, and two men were sent to the spot, who made signals that it was deserted. As many boats were seen leaving Boston, General Putnam crossed to Sewal's Point, landed without opposition, and the troops from Roxbury soon opened the enemy's gates, and, finding their powerful lines guarded only by a few stuffed jackets in the forms of sen-

thels, the whole town was soon in possession of General Putnam, to the great joy of the remaining inhabitants.

The enemy's ships, amounting to 78, lay in Nantasket Roads, ten miles from Boston, for ten days, which left their intentions doubtful; so that Washington sent off at first only a few regiments for New-York. Most of the remainder soon followed. They were marched to Norwich, Connecticut, where they embarked, in vessels provided beforehand, for New-York. On the 29th General Putnam was ordered to follow, and complete the fortifications there planned by General Lee; while General Thomas was on his way to Canada, to take the chief command there. Washington himself set out for New-York on the 4th of April. Governor Trumbull visited him at Norwich, where they held an interview. On his arrival at New-York, he found the troops actively engaged in digging intrenchments on Staten and Long Islands, and in making other preparations, hourly expecting the enemy's arrival. These works had been begun under Brigadier-general Lord Sterling, by the 2000 Connecticut militia on the spot, and a few from New-Jersey. Congress had ordered out 1000 from the latter colony, and some from New-York and New-Jersey: but very few had arrived. The Connecticut militia were discharged not long after, when their term expired. Being generally farmers, their presence at home was necessary at ploughing-time. The government and citizens of New-York had not yet generally espoused the common cause with as much zeal as New-England and some of the southern colonies, which ren-



dered it necessary to bring in more troops from abroad. At the close of April there were but about 10,000 troops at New-York, including 2000 on furlough; and six more regiments were to go to Canada.

The smallness of the army gave Washington much uneasiness; and he wrote to Governor Trumbull the day after the report was made out, that, unless a body of select troops from the western part of Connecticut and New-Jersey should be organized, and prepared to march at the first notice of the enemy's arrival, he feared any other arrangements would require too much time and prove useless.

In May, General Washington having been called to Philadelphia to confer with Congress, he left General Putnam in command, with instructions to afford military aid to the New-York provincial Congress in their exertions to apprehend persons disaffected with the revolution in that colony, who were said to be plotting in favour of the enemy. Numbers were taken and imprisoned in Connecticut.

A flying camp was ordered, in June, to be formed in the Middle Department, to be ready to march to any point; and 13,800 militia were ordered to be raised in Connecticut, New-York, and New-Jersey, and sent to New-York. The Canada army was suffering much from smallpox (of which General Thomas had died), and finally had to retire before General Burgoyne. General Wooster was ordered home, and went to present himself before Congress. Re-enforcements were sent to the north, where General Gates now had the command; and Fort Stanwix was rebuilt: but the

Americans were finally obliged to retire to Crown Point. There was now much reason to fear that the enemy might occupy the line of Lake Champlain and Hudson River; and Fort Washington was formed, with several redoubts and breastworks, on Harlem River, while the militia were called in from the western part of Connecticut, to assist those of New-York in occupying and fortifying the Highlands, to prevent the loyalists from seizing them.

Among the prisoners sent to Connecticut was Governor Franklin, of New-Jersey, who was placed under the care of Governor Trumbull, with liberty to go at large on parole if he should choose, or otherwise to be confined.

## CHAPTER XLII. 1776.

British Fleet under General and Lord Howe begins to arrive at New-York.—Declaration of Independence.—Unfortunate Situation of General Knox and the Army on Lake Champlain.—British Re-enforcements at Staten Island.—Call on Connecticut for more Troops.—Fourteen Regiments march under Colonel Wolcott.—The Battle of Long Island.—Retreat of the Americans.—Militia Desert.—New Re-enforcements from Connecticut.—New-York Evacuated by the Americans.—They are driven into New-Jersey.—Battles of Trenton and Princeton.

ABOUT the close of June, the British fleet arrived at Staten Island in detachments, where they were well received by the inhabitants; and, encouraged by the promises of Governor Tryon, of New-York, and many royalists, prepared to operate in case negotiation should fail.

When news was received of the fate of the petition sent to the king by the Congress, all hope of reconciliation disappeared. He had refused to hear it read, and declared to Parliament that the colonies were in open rebellion, and intended to establish an independent empire; that he had increased the forces, and also intended to appoint persons to grant pardons and receive the submission of such colonies as might wish to return to their allegiance. Parliament passed an act forbidding commerce with the colonies, giving their vessels, and all foreign vessels trading with them, to those who might capture them, while the crews might be forced to serve in the British navy, even in war against their countrymen. In short, the king's ministers said that the olive-branch should be offered to the Americans with one hand, and the sword with the other, and they were to make their choice. Sixteen thousand foreign troops were soon levied and sent to America: yet it required much argument and reflection to bring the people of the colonies to decide on a final separation from England; and some chose to accept of pardon as offered by Lord Howe. This was done by 960 persons in New-York in a single day.

Congress, however, immediately admitted the ships of all nations to their ports, and encouraged the capture of British property. The Assembly of Connecticut, on the 14th of June, 1776, unanimously agreed to instruct their representatives in the approaching Congress "to give their assent to a declaration of independence, and to unite in measures for forming foreign alliances, and promoting a plan of union among the colonies." This

was after a similar step had been taken by North Carolina, Virginia, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New-Hampshire; and Maryland and Pennsylvania had instructed theirs to oppose it. Mr. Lee, of Virginia, had already proposed the subject in Congress, on the 7th of June, and it had been postponed till the 1st of July. Conventions were held in several of the colonies, in which the people expressed their wishes in favour of the Declaration of Independence: so that on the 4th of July it was adopted by a vote of the whole. The delegates from Connecticut whose names are signed to that important document, were Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, and Oliver Wolcott.

Troops came into New-York very slowly: but Colonel Seymour arrived on the 8th, with a part of three regiments of light-horse. These, to the number of 400 or 500, were actuated by such a spirit, that, when informed by Washington that there was no forage provided for their horses, they got them pastured at Kingsbridge, offering to pay the expense themselves if Congress should decline, and to serve as long as they might be needed. They were, however, dismissed in July, not being willing to do fatigue or sentinel duty.

Lord Howe, on the 12th, sent a letter addressed to "George Washington, Esq.," doubtless with proposals to treat of peace: but it was not received, Congress having instructed the commander-in-chief to hold no communication with the British government, unless they would acknowledge the independence which had been declared.

Two of the enemy's ships took advantage of the

tide and wind on the 13th of July, and sailed up the North River, without suffering materially from the batteries, and moored in Tappan Bay, about 40 miles above. They were the Phoenix, 44 guns, and Rose, 20. There they were out of the reach of shot from the shore, and cut off all communication with the army under General Knox about Lake George. That general was in a painful situation. He had just evacuated Crown Point, and retired to Mount Independence, opposite Ticonderoga, on account of scarcity of provisions and sickness in his army, the main body of which was now at Lake George. Between May 1st and July 15th, he lost 5000 men by death and desertion; and 3000 were now sick. One quarter of all the militia of the four neighbouring counties of New-York were ordered out, under General George Clinton.

Washington sought to annoy the enemy by every means. Major Knowlton, who was stationed at Bergen, New-Jersey, was appointed to head a party of Continental troops, on the 18th of July, to the point opposite Staten Island, and cross in boats to make an attack, supported by General Mercer. But the plan was defeated by tempestuous weather. Another project to take 3900 men failed for want of boats.

But the American army had soon to prepare for an attack from a powerful enemy. Early in August Governor Trumbull received a letter from Washington, informing him that the whole British fleet was soon to arrive at Staten Island, amounting, including Hessian troops, to about 30,000 men; and that he had not above one third that number, consisting chiefly of raw troops, scattered

over 15 miles of country. The governor immediately summoned the Council of Safety, who despatched to New-York, with all haste, 14 regiments, including the five western ones, under Colonel Oliver Wolcott as brigadier-general. They also proposed the formation of volunteer companies. The 14 regiments, as he informed the commander-in-chief, consisted of "substantial farmers." He soon after furnished two row-galleys.

On the 22d of August, 8000 or 9000 of the enemy embarked and landed at Gravesend on Long Island. Marching to Flatbush, they lay within three miles of the American line, Colonel Hand having been forced to retreat before them. General Sullivan commanded the works in front instead of General Greene, who was sick, the entire command being under General Putnam. Washington immediately sent over six battalions, having received re-enforcements of nine small regiments from Connecticut. The enemy, on the 17th of August, having surprised two American detachments in the woods below Gowannis, attacked the third, under Lord Percy, with overwhelming numbers, and, although gallantly resisted, killed and captured a large part of them. Their main body then marching round through Bedford, turned the American left flank; and Putnam, on hearing their firing, hastened to meet them, being unable to afford any assistance to his right wing. About 800 Americans were killed, wounded, and made prisoners; of whom more than two thirds were among the last. The troops which principally suffered were from New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, and Colonel Huntington's regiment. The enemy

had gained such advantages that it was thought by some they would have captured all the remaining troops at Brooklyn if they had not encamped. But Washington, with admirable generalship, succeeded in transporting them all to New-York on the 27th, under cover of a thick mist, while the English received the submission of many of the inhabitants of Long Island, and extended their lines to Newtown and Flushing.

After the retreat to New-York, great numbers of the militia left the army; and those from Connecticut were soon reduced to 2000. One quarter of the remaining troops were sick, and there were tents for only two thirds. General Greene urged the burning of the city, and an immediate retreat: but a majority of the officers opposed it, and 5000 men were ordered to remain in it, 9000 at Kingsbridge, and the rest between. Congress, however, soon ordered the troops to march out; and a sudden attack gave the militia a panic, which was shared by the Continental soldiers, and the retreat was made with a disgraceful haste. Washington was once narrowly saved from being made a prisoner. The sick, however, had been sent to New-Jersey, and most of the stores removed.

Governor Trumbull had written, ere this, that more troops would soon come from Connecticut; and Washington, with thanks, remarked that his troops had generally been collected and put in motion as soon as demanded. The army was soon posted on the Heights of Harlaem; and, on the 16th, they were much inspirited by the successful repulse of a party of the enemy. The brave Colonel Knowlton, however, was mortally wounded. The

British force now amounted to about 25,000, while the Americans, fit for duty, were not more than 12,000 or 14,000. The latter suffered in an affair at White Plains, and were obliged to relinquish one post after another, until Fort Washington alone was occupied by them, on the east side of the Hudson, south of the Bronx, which now formed their line. The posts and passes of the Highlands were occupied by Connecticut and Massachusetts troops, and General Clinton's New-York militia brigade, under General Heath. General Wooster, with some Connecticut troops, was at Stamford at the command of General Lee, who was stationed at the Bronx.

Fort Washington was taken by assault, and thus Westchester County, New-York, was left open to the enemy. By the extreme activity of the Americans, however, they were so much harassed that they did not advance their lines; and the wide space between the two armies was neutral ground, open to marauding parties from both. Washington, having drawn off what troops remained with him to New-Jersey, prepared to spend the winter where he might, with the most gloomy prospects of danger and suffering. At no period was the condition of the country more sad and dispiriting. General Carleton, however, had failed in his attempt to bring a British army down to the colonies, although Lake Champlain had been left almost open to him, and had returned to Canada. Three regiments from the northern army therefore marched through the interior of New-York, and joined Washington after he had retired to the Delaware; while three others, taking the eastern side of the Hudson, re-enforced General Lee on Croton River.



Washington, having succeeded in getting the baggage of the army over the Delaware at Trenton, returned to Princeton, and ordered General Lee to join him, but to leave the troops which had been stationed to guard the Highlands of the Hudson. Unsupported by the government and people of New-Jersey, he sent to Philadelphia for re-enforcements : but, being pursued by General Howe with a vastly superior force of about 10,000, he was unable to make any stand. At the same time, the British commander having issued an offer of free pardon, in the king's name, to all who would submit and promise not to take up arms, the people held back, and seemed almost ready to accept the terms. After expecting General Lee for some time in vain, he learned that he had been made a prisoner at Basking Ridge, on the 13th of December, on leaving a house which he had visited alone, with most unaccountable imprudence, three miles distant from his troops. Congress, apprehending the capture of Philadelphia, removed to Baltimore, after placing almost supreme power in the hands of Washington.

In this state of things, New-England was making great exertions to send re-enforcements. Massachusetts ordered out 6000 militia to rendezvous at Danbury, Connecticut, under General Lincoln. Orders had been sent to General Heath to march to New-Jersey, when Washington received a letter from Governor Trumbull, saying that a large enemy's fleet had appeared off New-London, and threatened to land. He immediately ordered Major-general Spencer to hasten to Connecticut, and take command of the troops there, to co-operate

with General Arnold, whom he also ordered thither on his way from Ticonderoga. These orders, however, were soon countermanded, as Philadelphia was in extreme danger of being taken. Washington thought the fleet might perhaps soon return to New-York, and proceed up Hudson River to assist Burgoyne; and he authorized General Gates and Governor Clinton to call on Governor Trumbull and the surrounding colonies for any number of militia they might find necessary. The British, however, landed in Delaware Bay, and forced their way towards Philadelphia. In the mean time, the Marquis Lafayette had arrived from France, offered his services in the American army, received a commission of major-general, and engaged at once in active service under General Washington. It was now thought to be of great importance to harass the enemy about New-York so much as to prevent them from sending more troops to Pennsylvania. General Putnam, therefore, concerted a plan with Governor Trumbull for attacking them in four points at once; and a body of Connecticut troops were to be furnished to cross to Long Island. Just then, however, Washington peremptorily ordered Putnam to send him a detachment, which left him too feeble to undertake the enterprise. The enemy took the forts in the Highlands after much bloodshed, and they were afterward recovered, for Burgoyne's defeat and capture rendered them of little use to the British.

After the enemy had got possession of Philadelphia, and Washington had done his utmost to cut off their supplies, the cold and extreme want compelled the American army to take up their winter-

quarters at Valley Forge, on the river Schuylkill. General Putnam came down from the Highlands to harass the enemy, and spent most of December near the Sound. While he was there, an attempt was made, and in part successfully, against Long Island. Colonel Meigs was to sail from Sawpits and land near Huntington: but was prevented by bad weather. General Parsons sailed from Norwalk with troops, a part of whom were under Colonel Webb, and designed to land at Hempstead, and attack a British regiment near Jamaica. This division was driven on shore by an English sloop-of-war, and all were made prisoners. General Parsons went to Newport, while General Clinton and Earl Percy took possession of Rhode Island, on the 8th of December, with 6000 troops. By the greatest skill and activity, Washington prevented the enemy from passing the Delaware till late in December, although greatly disappointed by the want of support from the neighbouring states; and, on the night of the 25th, he crossed to Trenton, through floating ice, and took Colonel Rahl's Hessian regiment by surprise, which greatly alarmed the British, and highly encouraged all the friends of the country.

On the 2d of January he was closely pressed by an enemy's force in sight of Trenton, unable to recross the Delaware, and with the prospect of a bloody battle in the morning, for which he was ill prepared, as well as to endure the season, if successful. By a masterly movement, which has been justly admired, he withdrew his forces silently in the night, marching some miles towards New-York, as far as Princeton. There he met and beat three

English regiments, and finally took his troops safely to the high grounds in the north of New-Jersey; and took up his winter-quarters at Morristown. Re-enforcements were soon sent from New-England; and Congress now determined to raise a permanent army, by enlisting 88 battalions to serve till the close of the war. Washington and many other intelligent men had often urged such a measure; and, if it had been adopted early, many disasters would doubtless have been prevented. It had now been fully proved that militia were but little to be relied on, from their want of experience, discipline, mutual confidence, and anxiety about their homes.

For the details of the preceding operations, and others relating to the war, the reader may refer to the History of the United States, as the limits and plan of this work preclude us from taking a full view of many important occurrences.

## CHAPTER XLIII. 1777-1778.

**Danbury burned.**—Congress endeavour to restore the Value of Continental Money.—They apply to Foreign Powers for aid, without success.—General Burgoyne invades New-York from Canada.—He is Defeated at Saratoga, and Captured, with his Army.—Treaty with France in February, 1778.—Exertions made by England to reconcile America.—The French Cabinet betray a selfish Spirit.—Blockade of the British in Newport.—The Americans retire.—Massacre at Wyoming.—Final Settlement of the disputed Jurisdiction.

IN order to harass and alarm the coast of Connecticut, as well as to destroy the military stores deposited at Danbury, General Tryon left New-York late in April with a considerable force, and landed at Compo Creek. His appearance was too sudden to allow time for collecting troops to oppose him; and, as he marched on without delay, he was able to accomplish his object. Colonel Huntington was on the spot, but with very few men, and retired to wait for more. On the 26th of April General Tryon entered Danbury, and burned 800 barrels of pork and beef, 800 of flour, 200 bushels of grain, and 1700 tents. Had he been satisfied with this, he would have been justified by the laws of war: but, with the vindictive feelings which actuated the British ministry, and in consistency with their threats to the Americans, and their orders to their officers, he proceeded to the destruction of private dwellings, which, when unnecessary and unprovoked, is considered entirely unauthorized in

war, and worthy only of savages. He set fire to 18 dwelling houses, and thus distressed many unoffending families, whose sufferings could not tend to shorten the war, and therefore were unnecessary. Such measures produce evil effects, by imbiting the feelings of hostile parties, and leading to recrimination. We shall see how little the British ultimately gained by this wanton step.

General Tryon commenced his retreat immediately; while Generals Wooster, Silliman, and Arnold were still engaged in collecting troops. It was 11 o'clock on the 27th before any of them were in a condition to attack the enemy; and then General Wooster, with only 100 men, fell upon them with spirit, although at an advanced age: but he unfortunately received a mortal wound; and his soldiers, unable long to stand their ground, were forced to retreat. Arnold, with 500 men, awaited the enemy at Ridgeway, and engaged them for an hour: but he was unable to hold the place, and they drove him out, and spent the night there. Arnold renewed the attack in the morning, and kept up constant skirmishes until 5 P.M., when they re-embarked and returned to New-York, with the loss of 170 men.

General David Wooster was born at Stratford in 1711, graduated at Yale College in 1738, and served as a lieutenant and captain in a vessel built to guard the Connecticut coast in the Spanish war in 1739. In 1745 he took command of a company in Colonel Burr's regiment in the expedition against Louisburg, whence he was sent to France with prisoners. Crossing to England, he was appointed a captain in Sir William Pepperell's regiment. In

the war of 1755, he was appointed a colonel and a commander of a brigade. In 1774, though a British officer on half pay, he took a decided part in favour of his country against the oppressive measures of Britain; and, immediately after the battle of Lexington in 1775, received the command of the army which the General Assembly of Connecticut ordered to be raised. Congress appointed him a brigadier-general in the Continental army the same season. His services during the war, and the circumstances of his retirement, have been noticed in some of the preceding chapters.

Early in 1777, the bills issued by government had depreciated so much that the country was in great distress. Congress then made Continental money (as they were called) a legal tender. If a creditor refused to receive payment in that money at its original value, he could not recover his debt. Congress also adopted the unwise measure of fixing the prices of articles necessary for the army, and authorized officers to compel people to sell what they had more than was necessary for their families, when needed by the troops. They even declared those enemies of the country who should refuse to receive Continental money at par.

In retaliation for ravages committed by the enemy, Meigs's expedition was planned and executed. Information having been obtained that the English had collected a quantity of provisions at Sag Harbour on Long Island, 234 men left New-Haven, under Lieutenant-colonel Meigs, on the 21st of May, 1777, in thirteen whale-boats, to destroy them. They were detained at Guilford by bad weather until the 23d; and at one o'clock, 170 of them

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steered for the other side of the Sound, under convoy of two armed sloops, reaching Southold at six. There were no British troops to oppose them, all except a few having marched for New-York, and those being at Sag Harbour, fifteen miles distant.

The boats were carried over land to the bay, and 130 men proceeded in them, and landed four miles from Sag Harbour. With fixed bayonets, they forced their way to the shipping, which they burned, though under the fire of a schooner of twelve guns and fifty men, at 150 yards distance, for three quarters of an hour. They destroyed twelve brigs and a sloop, one with twelve guns, one hundred and twenty tons of hay, and a quantity of other articles, besides killing six of the enemy and taking 90 prisoners.

Colonel Meigs returned to Guilford in twenty-four hours, without the loss or injury of a man. He received a letter of approbation from Washington, and a sword from Congress, for his "prudence, activity, enterprise, and valour."

Congress employed commissioners to apply for aid in the war to France, Spain, Prussia, and Tuscany, but without success, except that a few privateers were sent out from France, which took a number of English prizes. The British troops in America were divided in the campaign of that year: for, while a part of them were on the Delaware and at Philadelphia, General Burgoyne came down from Canada by Lake Champlain, and drove the Americans from Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and succeeded in reaching Saratoga, on the western bank of the Hudson, before he met any considerable opposing force.



After Crown Point had been evacuated by the Americans, it was greatly desired by many that Ticonderoga might hold out ; and it probably would not have been surrendered if the advice of Colonel John Trumbull, of Connecticut, had been followed. While the cannoniers were practising with their guns one day, he ordered that one should be pointed at the top of Butter Hill, or Mount Defiance, which rises far above from the opposite side of the outlet of Lake George ; and the ball struck among the trees on the summit. This proved the fact, which had never been believed, that it was within cannon-shot. He then urged that the spot might be occupied ; and, if it had been, the English could never have planted their guns upon it.

General Schuyler was blamed for giving up the fortresses, and lost the confidence of New-England to such a degree that Congress removed him from the command, and put General Gates in his place, authorizing him and Governor Clinton to demand as many troops from the Eastern states as he pleased. Washington wrote, on the 14th of August, to the New-York Committee of Vigilance : " I have great reliance on those states ; they are capable of powerful efforts ;" and his expectations were not disappointed. They sent large re-enforcements to the dispirited army ; and Gates soon marched it from the islands in the Hudson, at the mouth of the Mohawk, to which it had retreated, up to Stillwater, where he took a position on Behm's Heights.

The condition and prospects of the country were at that crisis most sad and foreboding. A strong party of Hessians, with some British troops and

royalists, were valiantly met, defeated, and captured, in an attempt to seize the great depôt of military stores at Bennington, now in Vermont, by some militia hastily collected from the adjacent country, under General Stark and Colonel Warner. This was the first step towards the favourable change which soon took place, and had a powerful effect upon the country.

Governor Clinton, hoping to make sure of the important pass of the Highlands, resumed the command of Fort Montgomery; and the strictest caution was observed to prevent any communication between the enemy at New-York and General Burgoyne. A man named Edward Palmer was arrested in attempting to pass through the American army under very suspicious circumstances. The British demanded him of General Putnam, who wrote this laconic note in return on the 7th of August: "Edward Palmer has been taken as a spy, condemned as a spy, and will be executed as a spy. P.S.—He has been executed accordingly." About the middle of the month Washington ordered Putnam to send to General Gates Morgan's rifle corps, which consisted of 500 men, to relieve the apprehensions felt by the militia of meeting Burgoyne's Indians, by fighting them, as he remarked, "in their own way." They went up the Hudson in sloops from Peekskill. Colonel Courtlandt's and Colonel Livingston's regiments were also despatched to re-enforce the northern army.

Burgoyne soon after surrendered to General Gates; and, from that moment, the Americans were excited with new hope and new resolution, while the event caused a strong impression abroad.

The King of France, in December, openly espoused the cause of our country, by acknowledging its independence; and, on the 6th of February, 1778, a commercial treaty and one of alliance were formed between the two countries. This was a blessing of great value, and was so regarded by many, with gratitude to God, although there was room to suspect that the French king had not been influenced in the measure by mere kindness to the Americans, or a regard for justice. A letter of his own, since published, expressly avows that his object was to weaken England by preventing her reunion with her colonies. In the treaty, Congress agreed to give to France any of the West India Islands which the Americans might conquer in the war.

But to return to our hasty view of the progress of the war. Connecticut, in common with the other colonies, at the opening of the year 1778, had another season of painful struggle in prospect, as this treaty had not yet been made. Parliament, in spite of the results of the previous campaign, resolved to make a new exertion to overcome the Americans; and, after making great preparations, received large sums of money from men of wealth, while some of the cities raised a regiment of soldiers each to increase the army. At the same time, the ministry were engaged in forming another plan of reconciliation. This proved to be more liberal than any preceding one, and, indeed, yielded almost every point which had caused difficulty: but it was not soon enough adopted by Parliament even to be fairly tried. Ten days before it received their approbation, the treaty between the colonies and France was concluded; and then, of

course, if not before, independence was considered as finally settled. The King of France sent information of the treaty to the King of England, through the ministers, intimating that he was ready to aid the Americans if the war should continue.

The British government showed an urgent desire to become reconciled with the Americans when they began to see France inclined to join them; and the plan of reconciliation was sent in haste across the Atlantic before it had been adopted. Washington laid it before Congress, by whom it was published, with an address to the people, warning them against confiding in fair promises made at a time when the colonies had a powerful friend ready to assist them, and which would probably be broken as soon as circumstances should appear more favourable to England.

Commissioners were appointed, who came and offered even, in fact, to acknowledge the independence of the colonies: but Congress refused to open any conference until the British forces should be withdrawn; and France was spoken of in the document in terms of reproach, which, as an ally, the country ought not to permit. Several attempts were made, in a most cautious and secret manner, by strangers in Paris, to influence Dr. Franklin to yield some advantage in favour of England: but he was too sagacious as well as too patriotic to be taken off his guard. The war, therefore, was to go on; and, while England sent out a powerful land and naval force, the commissioners gave notice that she considered the country as "mortgaged to France," and was resolved, for self-preservation,

tion, to render America of as little use as possible to her enemy. This intimated that the government intended to give the war a desolating character, and, of course, excited dreadful anticipations of the campaign. The commissioners offered pardon to all who should desert in forty days; and this led Congress to propose that British agents should be seized who made such proposals.

The commissioners returned to England: but first, having received information that a French fleet was coming to blockade the English in the Chesapeake, they gave the commander notice, who therefore evacuated Philadelphia on the 18th of June, and marched to New-York. On his way he was attacked by the Americans at Monmouth, New-Jersey, and both sides claimed the advantage, after a severe engagement. The French fleet, consisting of 12 ships of the line and 8 frigates, arrived on the coast on the 6th of July, bringing out Monsieur Gerard, the first minister ever appointed to the United States. Dr. Franklin was appointed minister to France on the 14th of September, 1778, and went, at the age of 71.

And now the French government intimated a strong wish to recover Canada; and it was proposed by Gerard that several bodies of troops should cross the frontiers, capture the country, and form two new states for the Union. It was intimated that France might hold it as security for money advanced. Congress considered the plan favourably: but Washington decidedly, though with respect and moderation, opposed it; and it was finally abandoned, on the ground that the country was not able to ensure the performance of the part expected of her.

The French, under the Count de Grasse, proceeded to Newport, Rhode Island, and blockaded the harbour and coast; while General Sullivan, having called upon the militia of that state and the neighbouring ones, marched down upon the island, and pressed the enemy closely on the land side. But, a severe storm having caused the fleet some damage, the count insisted on going to Boston, while the Americans were compelled to retreat, and were pursued for some time by the enemy.

Reports of the cruel treatment received by prisoners in the hands of the enemy had often distressed their friends; and, although Washington had remonstrated, and threatened retaliation, fears were still entertained that there was yet much suffering in the British prisons. This apprehension was too strongly confirmed by Robert Sheffield, of Stonington, who effected his escape from a prison-ship at New-York. He made known the painful facts, that 350 men were confined between decks, in extreme want of air, room, and all the comforts of life, and in a state of misery and disease. He added, that three other ships in Wallabout Cove (where the Navy Yard now is) were likewise crowded with American and French prisoners.

This year a dreadful blow fell on the devoted settlements of Wyoming. At the commencement of the war in 1775, the feelings of former rancour were added to those which excited the whole country. A considerable number of the people and claimants took part with the enemy; and, ere long, the savages were brought into the contest which ensued.

The inhabitants were then about 5000, including

those of both the companies, and had eight townships, each five miles square, viz., Lackawana, Exeter, Kingston, Wilkesbarre, Plymouth, Nanticoke, Huntington, and Salem. The two upper townships were but thinly populated. Congress, being informed that much blood was likely to be shed, endeavoured to prevent it : but 700 Pennsylvanians were soon on the march, under Colonel Plunkett, to drive their rivals from the valley. They were ambushed on the western bank of the river, in a strong and wild position, and again met on the eastern side with such vigour that they retreated ; and this was the last attempt made by Pennsylvania to settle the question by force of arms. How lamentable was it that William Penn's example was not imitated from the beginning !

A number of the loyalists of Wyoming soon dropped off and joined the bands of John Johnson and Colonel John Butler, and took part in the bloody scenes which they enacted among the frontier villages of New-York and Pennsylvania. Eleven hundred men, however, were formed into a regiment of militia, and three hundred of them soon enlisted for the Continental army, and formed three companies. The fruitfulness of the soil enabled the people even during the war to raise large supplies of provisions ; and, in the spring of 1778, 3000 bushels of grain were furnished to the army.

There were little forts at different points, which were guarded : but, even in 1777, during the operations against Fort Stanwix, no attack was made. In the following January twenty-seven persons were arrested on suspicion of corresponding with the enemy, and nine of them were retained in custody,

and sent to Hartford, Connecticut, where they were confined: but most of this whole number found their way into the British ranks after their release. Some distant Indian tribes sent friendly messages to the people: but it was found that they wished to lull them into security, and then destroy them.

The upper settlements were abandoned; and in the spring, several robberies were committed by small parties of Indians and Tories, while in June the murder of defenceless families was commenced, and among those who fell were a mother and her six children. About the same time Colonel John Butler set out from Canada, with 300 English and Tories, and 500 Indians; and from Tioga Point floated down the Susquehanna on rafts to the Three Islands. There landing, they marched through the woods twenty miles, and entered the valley of Wyoming from the north, by a gap in the mountains. Exeter Fort was given up to them by the Tory garrison, and Fort Lackawana was taken by force. The inhabitants fled to the other forts; and Colonel Zabulon Butler, with 400 militia, marched against the enemy, with the 300 Continentals under Captain Hewett. They met them, in front of Fort Wintermoot, on the 3d of July, and soon found the Indians giving way before the militia. But, while the latter were advancing, they heard the whoop of a party of savages in their rear, and soon took to flight, pursued and slaughtered with tomahawks. Of the whole number only about sixty escaped, by running to the mountains or swimming across the river.

Most of the numerous families below, on hearing of this sad defeat, fled into the forest, while a



smaller number sought refuge in Fort Wyoming. They were, however, soon compelled to surrender, which they did with an agreement to restore the estates of the Tories, and allow them to remain in peace, while the fort should be destroyed, but they should be protected from the Indians. But the poor people were attacked and butchered with the most shocking cruelty when the enemy had them in their power; and the Royalists were even more barbarous and unrelenting than the savages. Not only did those who had been neighbours lift the sword against each other, but kindred, and even brothers, are said to have lost all feeling, except the most rancorous hatred, on that bloody day.

Colonel Zabulon Butler and some of the other survivors met a body of Continental troops on their way to help them; and, after remaining at Stroudsbury three or four weeks, they returned to Wyoming, and found the enemy had retired. A new fort was built; and an incursion was made into the Indian country when Colonel Hartley's regiment had reached the valley.

General Sullivan received the command the next year, when frequent predatory attempts were made by the savages, and all such as fell into the hands of the Americans were put to death. Only one more serious attempt was made against Wyoming during the war, and then 250 Tories and Indians fled at the first shot.

The prospects of security led many settlers to that charming valley. Congress appointed a commission, who met in New-Jersey, and decided that the disputed country belonged to Pennsylvania; and the settlers submitted, claiming, however, that the

decision determined only the jurisdiction. But old enmities soon began to disturb the public peace; and a company of Continental troops, who were sent to protect it, increased the irritation. During the subsequent years dissension continued. The Pennsylvanian fort was besieged: but a re-enforcement arrived, some blood was shed, and all attempts at negotiation failed. Colonel Timothy Pickering was sent to effect a reconciliation, but he was kept for some time as a prisoner. At length, in 1786, the final settlement of the whole question was made, by giving the disputed territory to Pennsylvania, and to Connecticut a tract of valuable land in Ohio, which was called New-Connecticut, and now, more commonly, the Connecticut Reserve.

The last survivor of those who escaped the massacre of Wyoming was Mrs. Esther Skinner, who died at Torrington, Connecticut, in 1881, in the hundredth year of her age. She lost two sons in the battle, escaping with six other children in a very surprising manner. Her son-in-law was the only man who escaped death out of twenty men who betook themselves to the river when pursued, and hung by the branches of trees until the Indians found and tomahawked them one by one. Through many hardships she travelled back to Connecticut where she spent the remainder of her life.

## CHAPTER XLIV. 1779-1781.

**War in Georgia.**—Norfolk taken.—Sullivan's Expedition.—Mutiny at Reading, Connecticut.—British attempt to reach Stamford.—New-Haven taken by General Tryon.—Fairfield and Norwalk burned.—Stony Point taken.—Arnold's Treachery.—Execution of André.—Sufferings of the Army in Pennsylvania.—Preparations to Besiege New-York in 1780.—The Seat of War changed to Virginia.—Capture of New-London.—Massacre at Groton Fort.—English Depredations.—A Congregation captured on the Sabbath.—Severe Treatment of Prisoners.—Siege and Capture of Yorktown.—Negotiations for Peace.—Close of the War.—The Army at Newburg incited to Revolt.—Washington persuades them to be Dismissed in Peace.—He resigns his Commission.

LATE in the year 1778, Lieutenant-colonel Campbell sailed from New-York with 2500 men, landed in Georgia, and took Savannah with little opposition. The American troops retreated to South Carolina : but General Sullivan soon besieged Savannah, aided by a French fleet under Count D'Estaing, with 6000 men. Count Pulaski and about 1000 men having lost their lives in an assault, the fleet sailed for France, and the troops retired, while Norfolk, in Virginia, was plundered by the British. Fort St. Vincent, on the Wabash, was captured by Colonel Clarke, which secured a large extent of the western frontier : but General Sullivan was despatched with 4000 men against the Indians in the western part of New-York, whom he defeated at Seneca Lake, destroying their town and driving them away.

In 1779, Congress being exceedingly pressed for

means to furnish the army with the necessaries of life, called on the states to raise 15 millions, with the intention of asking six millions annually for 18 years. The call, however, was ineffectual. Resort was then had to the old expedient, and bills of credit were issued in great numbers, until the whole amount was 160 millions. Congress then declared that the issues should not in any case swell the amount over two millions: but necessity compelled them afterward to increase to three millions.

During the winter, General Putnam was stationed at Reading, with a force prepared to co-operate with the troops at West Point in case of need. He had two Connecticut brigades, General Poor's New-Hampshire brigade, Colonel Hazen's corps of infantry, and Sheldon's cavalry. In consequence of the severe sufferings which they had to endure from the want of necessaries, the Connecticut troops had agreed to mutiny, march to Hartford, and demand relief of the General Assembly, who were then in session. The second brigade had actually paraded under arms preparatory to their march, before General Putnam was apprized of their design. He immediately mounted his horse and galloped to the spot. The sergeants, who then had the command, made the soldiers present arms and the musicians beat their drums, while he rode along the line, and thus addressed them:

"My brave lads, whither are you going? Do you intend to desert your officers, and to invite the enemy to follow you into the country? Whose cause have you been fighting and suffering so long in: is it not your own? Have you no property,

no parents, wives, or children? You have behaved like men so far: all the world is full of your praises; and posterity will stand astonished at your deeds—but not if you spoil all at last. Don't you consider how much the country is distressed by the war, and that your officers have not been better paid than yourselves? But we all expect better times, and that the country will do us ample justice. Let us stand by one another, then, and fight it out like brave soldiers. Think what a shame it would be for Connecticut men to run away from their officers."

The troops listened to the general in order and silence; and when, at his command, the brigademajor gave the word, they shouldered their arms, marched to their respective parades, and cheerfully lodged their muskets, won back to their duty by their brave, patriotic, and popular general. Only one man proved refractory, and he was put under guard; and, in attempting to escape at night, was shot dead by a sentry.

While the army was at Reading, Mr. Jones, a Royalist belonging to Ridgefield, was hung as a spy, and a youth was shot for desertion.

On the 25th of February, six regiments were sent by General Tryon to surprise the American troops at Horseneck, and destroy the salt-works. They were discovered at New-Rochelle by a captain and 30 men, who fired upon them, but retreated, taking up Byram bridge. On reaching Horseneck, they found General Putnam waiting for them, with some old iron cannon and about 60 soldiers, with which he received them in a spirited manner. Finding, however, that they were en-

deavouring to outflank him, to get into the deep ravine behind his position, he ordered a retreat to a hill beyond, while he set off for Stamford for more troops. He delayed so long that several of the enemy's dragoons were almost upon him when he reached the brow of the hill. Having his celebrated well-trained horse, and being a man of extraordinary boldness, he drove down a steep and broken descent at a rapid pace, where his pursuers were afraid to follow; and, while they took a more circuitous route, he reached the valley before them, and, hastening on, eluded their pursuit. The enemy destroyed one of the salt-works, and returned with the loss of 38 prisoners and two wagons, having killed about 20 of the Americans.

Connecticut this year appointed Major-general Silliman superintendent of the coast of Fairfield; and in May, a party of nine refugees crossed from Lloyd's Neck on Long Island, and, proceeding cautiously to his house, roused him and family at midnight by an attempt to force the door. He attempted to fire upon them: but his musket missed; and they soon broke through a window, made him prisoner, and hurried to their boat with his eldest son. They were confined at New-York, and afterward at Flatbush. This was a serious public loss, because he could not be restored to liberty until exchanged for an officer of the enemy of equal rank. Such a one was not then a prisoner with the Americans. Captain Hawley, of Bridgeport (then called Newfield), having intelligence that the Hon. Thomas Jones, a justice of the Supreme court of New-York, resided in an exposed situation at Smithtown, on Long Island, he proceeded, with

about 25 men, across the Sound, and arrived at his dwelling in the evening unobserved, the music of a ball preventing their approach from being heard. Opening the door, they met Judge Jones in the entry, and brought him off, with a Mr. Hewlet. They were two days in returning to their boat; and, on reaching Connecticut, the judge was courteously entertained by Mrs. Silliman, and soon sent to Middletown for safety.

On the 5th of July, 1779, 48 of the enemy's vessels appeared off New-Haven, commanded by Sir George Collier. They consisted of the *Camilla* and *Scorpion* men-of-war, and a number of transports and tenders, with 3000 troops under Major-general Tryon. About 1500 landed at West Haven Point at sunrise. Twenty-five of the inhabitants attacked and drove back two companies who had advanced to Milford Hill: but General Garth, with the rest, afterward found no obstacle till they reached West River, where the bridge had been destroyed, and a few guns planted behind a breast-work. They then turned off to the left, and marched round nine miles by the Derby road, galled by a party of about 150 Americans. Adjutant Campbell fell on Milford Hill, where his grave is still to be seen.

Another body of the British, in the mean time, had landed at the South End, and, marching up, attacked the fort, where they met such opposition as nineteen men could make. Their vessels also came and fired on the fort, which was not abandoned by its feeble garrison while there was any hope of success. The town was soon in possession of the enemy, who, in spite of a proclamation pub-

lished by the commanders, burned the stores on the wharf and eight houses, shamefully pillaged others of all the valuable articles they were able to remove, and destroyed or injured much furniture, besides murdering several persons in cold blood, and committing other acts of barbarity. Captain Gilbert, of Hampden, was wounded, and offered to surrender: but Captain Parker ordered him to be shot. He immediately shot Captain Parker, and then fell. Mr. Beers was shot, and mortally wounded; by a soldier in the ranks, at his own door; the Rev. Dr. Daggett, president of Yale College, was stabbed, beaten, and insulted while a prisoner, having been taken in arms near West Bridge; Mr. English, a helpless old man, was put to death in his house; and an insane man was beaten, had his tongue cut out, and was finally killed.

The enemy were guided by William Chandler, whose family joined them, and returned with them. He interceded for President Daggett, having been his pupil, and probably saved his life. That patriotic man, having been asked whether he would ever take up arms again if released, replied, "I rather believe I shall, if I have an opportunity."

The enemy hastily embarked the next morning and returned to New-York.

About the same time, the fort at Stony Point, at the entrance of the Highlands of the Hudson, was taken by storm by General Wayne: yet no retaliation was made by the humane captors for the atrocities committed by the enemy.

The enemy's squadron appeared at Kensie's Point, off Fairfield, on the 7th of July, where they landed the following morning. A small number of



militia assembled and opposed them as well as they were able, killing, wounding, and capturing a few, and checking them a while with a fieldpiece at the courthouse, but were unable to prevent them from marching into the town. It was soon in their possession, and they paraded on the green between the courthouse and meeting-house. Most of the inhabitants had fled on the first alarm: a few only remained, with the hope of prevailing on the commanders to spare their dwellings and barns, which were filled with a plentiful harvest.

Mrs. Burr, the wife of the sheriff, a lady of most exalted character and dignified manners, made such a request of General Tryon: to which he returned only a brutal answer. Detachments were sent in all directions, first the Hessians, who plundered what they pleased. Some refugees, who were exasperated by the confiscation of their property, here, as in many other cases in the war, were very active in the work of destruction. Some of the British officers expressed commiseration for the people: but General Tryon, although constantly petitioned by females for the protection of their dwellings, was deaf to mercy, and the Hessians were very profane and abusive. General Garth was more humane. Mr. Jennings's house was burned soon after sunset, several others in the night; and the next morning the whole town was destroyed, with the exception of a few houses from Colonel Gold's to Mill River. Some of these had finally been promised protection, as that of Mr. Burr and the meeting-house: but they were burned by some of the rear-guard or stragglers. Eighty-five dwellings in all were destroyed, two churches, the

courthouse, fifty-five barns, fifteen stores, fifteen shops, 500 barrels of rice, and other property to a large amount.

In the mean time, a body of militia held the neighbouring hills, and kept up skirmishes with the enemy's outposts. A row-galley fired on the fort all night : but it was defended with much gallantry by Lieutenant Jarvis, with only twenty-three men. About eight in the morning the enemy marched, and were galled by the militia on their retreat. About 3 P.M. they set sail for Long Island, with a few prisoners.

After the destruction of Fairfield by the British, they returned from Huntington Bay, in Long Island, on the 11th of July, and landed on the east side of the river, near Norwalk, between eight and nine o'clock in the evening. Many of the inhabitants fled to Belden's Hill, about five miles distant, and in the morning occupied Grummons's Hill. Captain Stephen Betts, at the head of fifty Continental troops and a few militia, attempted to check them in their approach, but was at length obliged to retreat, after losing four men. About sunrise the conflagration of buildings began, and all the stores and dwellings except six were destroyed, together with the two churches and the salt-works. The enemy evacuated the place at noon, taking the whale-boats with them. General Tryon acknowledged the loss of twenty killed, ninety-six wounded, and thirty-two missing.

The story of Arnold's treachery is well known to every reader of the history of the Revolution. In consequence of his extravagance in spending money while he was in Philadelphia, he had suf-

ferred censure; and this had so irritated his unprincipled and violent feelings, that he gave up all his attachment for his country. After labouring and risking his life in defence in so many engagements with the enemy, he determined to sell to them, for a sum of money, the important fortresses of the Highlands, of which he held the command. By a private means he made known his feelings to the British commander in New-York, who immediately sent Major André up the Hudson, in the sloop-of-war Vulture, to make the bargain. He landed unobserved in the night, and had a secret interview with Arnold in a solitary spot on the shore. He was taken on his way back to New-York by land, in the neutral ground, by three men whom he mistook for loyalists; and, being suspected, and unable to bribe them, he was made prisoner. He sent word to Arnold that Anderson was captured. That name he had assumed, and was known only to Arnold, who immediately took alarm for himself, and fled to the Vulture, in which he was carried to New-York. He landed at Old Slip; and, meeting a party of British in Hanover Square, he was introduced to them, but they immediately turned their backs upon him: so natural is it to regard such treachery with abhorrence. He received £10,000 sterling, and a commission of brigadier-general in the British army; and, impelled by desperation, engaged in war against his countrymen with the barbarity of a savage.

Arnold's estate was confiscated; and the Court of Probate of New-Haven appointed Isaac Jones and Michael Todd commissioners to examine claims

against it, and Pierpont Edwards to receive payments due.

In the mean time, Major André was tried and condemned as a spy ; and, although great exertions were made to persuade Washington to pardon him, he was hung at Tarrytown, lamented even by those who thought the sentence just : for he was a young man of amiable character, and had friends and relations in England who were tenderly attached to him.

The winter of 1780 was one of great suffering to our troops. Those of the Pennsylvania line were reduced to such distress by starvation at Morristown, as well as those of New-Jersey, that they refused to obey their officers, chose new ones, and determined to go to Philadelphia, to demand relief of Congress. Three months' pay was raised for them, though with great difficulty, and they returned to order. Two men, who had been sent by Sir Henry Clinton to draw them over to the English party, were taken prisoners by them, given up to the government, and executed as spies.

The states were this year required to bring in the old bills of credit at the rate of forty for one. They were cancelled, and new ones issued, not exceeding one twentieth of their amount. These were to be redeemed in six years at five per cent., and rested on the credit of the particular states, guarantied by the United States. The bills, however, were not brought in, and the sufferings of the army continued. At length, the old bills became so entirely discredited that they lost all value, and remained worthless in the hands of their holders.

In the following spring 6000 troops were order-

ed from the northern states to besiege New-York, and the few who came, being joined by the French army, took position about the city. On account of want of strength, however, and a re-enforcement of 3000 Germans which arrived at New-York, they were obliged to abandon the enterprise, and little was done in that part of the country the whole season. Virginia, however, and, still more, the Carolinas, suffered from a bloody civil war; for there the loyalists, or Tories, as they were called, were numerous, and the people of the same districts, towns, neighbourhoods, and families were often armed and exasperated against each other, and devastated the country by their violence and bloodshed, instigated and assisted by the British troops under Lord Rawdon, Stewart, Tarleton, Cornwallis, and the traitor Arnold. The patriotic Americans, under Lafayette, Greene, Lee, Marion, Sumter, and others, having opposed their enemies with various success, were at length gratified by the retreat of Cornwallis, with his ten thousand troops, to the mouth of York River, where they began to fortify themselves. Sir Henry Clinton had intercepted a letter from Washington to Congress, from which he learned that New-York was to be attacked with a powerful force, and ordered Cornwallis to take position somewhere on the coast, to be ready to come to his assistance in the fleet. Washington, in the mean time, having learned that a French fleet, with 3000 troops, was coming to the Chesapeake, he determined to direct his principal attempts against the enemy in the south. The troops about New-York were therefore ordered to march: but manœuvred in such a way that the

English thought they were going to take Staten Island, and did not discover that they had marched for Philadelphia until it was too late to follow them. Sir Henry Clinton then determined to distress some parts of the country within his reach, and sent Arnold against New-London with 24 ships. What a sad comment on his character is his acceptance of such an office, and how much more detestable did he appear in the wanton barbarity which he displayed in its execution!

From the eastern side of New-London harbour, in Groton, rises a high and steep hill, crowned by Fort Griswold, in the place of which was then a small work, of little strength, but commanding the fort and town of New-London, which lay in full view below. The alarm caused by the approach of the British ships from Long Island brought together many volunteers from the neighbouring towns, in arms for resistance. Fort Trumbull being untenable, on the enemy's approach, those who had entered it crossed the harbour to Groton. About four miles up the river Thames is a little solitary burying-ground, near the margin of the water. It contains the ashes of a number of the brave men who formed the garrison of Groton fort on that melancholy occasion, under Colonel Ledyard.

Arnold, on reaching the mouth of the harbour on the 9th of September, landed 800 men, in three parties, in Groton, under Colonel Eyre, to attack the fort on three sides at once, while he proceeded against the town with the remaining troops. On the land side the fort was almost unfit for resistance. The garrison, amounting to 180 men,

behaved with the greatest bravery, but were overpowered by superior numbers, after the loss of Colonel Eyre and the officer next him in rank. When the garrison had ceased to resist, the British officer at the head of the invaders inquired, "Who commands this fort?" "I did," replied Colonel Ledyard, "but you do now;" at the same time presenting him his sword. Instead of treating him with humanity, he seized the weapon, plunged it into his bosom, and killed him. The soldiers, following this savage example, fell on the surviving prisoners, and slaughtered sixty or seventy of them. Not content with this, they placed the wounded men in a heap upon a cart, and rolled it down the steep hill on which the fort was built. It moved down with great force until it struck a tree, which stopped its career with a violent shock. Thus several of them were killed, and others severely bruised.

The conquerors then spread a train of gunpowder from the gate of the fort to the magazine, and retired, after touching it with fire. The train, however, was by some means interrupted; and this is reported to have been effected by a wounded soldier, who lay unobserved in the barracks, and, creeping out as fast as his exhausted strength would permit, lay across the train and soaked it with his blood.

In the mean time, Arnold, having landed on the western side of the harbour about nine o'clock, with 800 men, proceeded from Brown's farm, near the present lighthouse, opposed by a few Americans, and soon had possession of New-London. The stores on the beach were set on fire, and the houses

on Mill Cove: but, being fired upon by parties of our men, they at length began to retire, setting fire as they retreated to the buildings in their way. At four P.M. they began a precipitate retreat, and returned to their ships with the loss of five killed and about twenty wounded. A Hessian officer was made prisoner. The Americans lost four killed and ten or twelve wounded.

Many of the inhabitants of New-London had fortunately been able to escape up the river in vessels before the enemy's arrival, with much of their valuable moveables: but the destruction of property was great. The fire of the buildings on the shore was communicated to the vessels at the wharves, and numbers of them were burned. A committee of the Legislature, in 1793, stated the losses of the town at \$485,980. It appeared that 65 dwelling-houses were burned, which had contained 97 families, besides 31 stores, 18 shops, 20 barns, and 9 public and other buildings, comprising the courthouse, church, and jail.

After the peace, 500 acres of land in the Connecticut Reserve, in Ohio, were granted to New-London in consideration of these losses.

In June of the same year, about 150 men landed at Leet's Island, in Guilford, from two armed brigs and a schooner. They burned the house and two barns of Mr. Leet, but were attacked and driven off, leaving six or seven muskets, and having wounded five men, two of them mortally.

On the 22d of July, during public worship (it being the Sabbath), a party of enemies, chiefly refugees, surrounded the meeting-house in Middlesex, now Darien, and took the men prisoners, with the



pastor, Dr. Mather. They tied them together in couples, and, marching them to the shore, conveyed them to Lloyd's Neck in boats. Thence they were soon marched to New-York, where they were imprisoned. Some never returned, and others suffered from the smallpox. Dr. Mather was confined in the Provost prison (now the Hall of Record in New-York), under the charge of the notorious jailor Cunningham, who persecuted him with his characteristic brutality, and often told him he was to be executed.

On the 3d of January, 130 men, who had been prisoners in New-York, were landed at New-London in a deplorable condition ; and these, like many others who arrived at different times, were diseased, filthy, and covered with vermin. Numbers of persons died of the infectious disease which they communicated in the houses where they were received.

But to return to the operations of the armies :

Washington was soon throwing up trenches before the enemy's position at Yorktown in Virginia, while the Count de Grasse blockaded them with a French fleet in the Chesapeake. Early in October, the place was stormed by the Americans under Colonel Hamilton, and the French troops under Lafayette ; and, after an unsuccessful attempt to cross the river, Cornwallis surrendered himself and his army. The English nation and Parliament, after this great American victory, determined to put an end to the war, although the king was disposed to persevere ; and, in the spring of 1782, proposals were made for peace.

In the United States the news of the victory

caused great rejoicings; and public thanksgiving was rendered to the God of armies, who had disposed events so mercifully for the country. The proposition for a treaty of peace was received with general satisfaction; and Congress appointed John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens commissioners to treat on the subject, while Mr. Oswald was appointed by the king of Great Britain. Conferences were held in Paris, and preliminaries were agreed on in November, but were not signed that year, on the ground that it was proper to wait until Great Britain should be at peace with France, the ally of the United States.

Congress determined to dismiss on furlough the troops enlisted for the whole war, not thinking it prudent to disband the army until a definitive treaty should be formed. They offered to allow the troops full pay for five years, instead of half pay for life, which had been promised them; and this full pay was to be given to them either in money or in securities at interest, at the choice of the respective state lines.

At this period, however, a dark and portentous cloud overhung the country. The people of the United States, perhaps, have never passed a more dangerous crisis. Some officer addressed to the army (which was concentrated at Newburgh, on the Hudson River) some incendiary letters, inveighing against the government for breaking its promises, and exhorting the soldiers not to lay down their arms until they should obtain some more substantial return for their long and arduous services. The danger of revolt and a military despotism was imminent, and this would doubtless have been the

consequence with an army in such circumstances in almost any other country, where soldiers are less intelligent, virtuous, and patriotic, especially as the author of the letters was probably an officer of pretty high rank, viz., Colonel Wilkinson. But America had a general such as Europe never yet has been blessed with; and Washington, who was happily on the spot, exerted all his influence, and displayed all his exalted character, in arguing and remonstrating with the troops as fellow-citizens, fellow-labourers, and fellow-sufferers, urging the noble considerations with a sincerity and eloquence worthy of himself. Such influence had he with the army, that he prevented the display of any insubordination; and the soldiers quietly departed on their various routes for their homes, many of them taking the roads to Connecticut. It was not, however, until the latter part of June that the army was entirely dispersed. In November it was disbanded by proclamation by Congress, as the state of affairs with England was such as to prove that the war was entirely at an end.

Perhaps no act in Washington's life has produced a stronger impression than his interference in this case; and the people of Connecticut, perhaps, as deeply as any admired the virtue he displayed, while they appreciated the importance of the results. Their local situation naturally led them to regard the occasion with deep solicitude.

Connecticut, lying near the scene of action, would have been exposed to devastation had the army consented to reap with their swords the harvest they had planted. Good men, who love to remember in all things the superintendence of the

Creator, saw and must see great reason for gratitude at the turn of affairs at that important crisis, on which the fate of the country seemed to be suspended.

On the 8th of June, Washington informed Congress that he was now prepared to resign the command of their armies, which he had received with such diffidence almost seven years before, and had exercised with such a combination of ability, self-denial, and disinterestedness as no other general ever displayed. His spontaneous relinquishment of such authority is worthy of the unqualified approbation of the good, and is likely to have a salutary influence, as an example, as long as history shall be read and virtue esteemed.

Washington, on laying aside his power, recommended four objects as in his opinion of primary value to the country :

- 1st. A federation among the states ;
- 2d. A sacred regard to justice ;
- 3d. The establishment of peace ; and,
- 4th. The exercise of disinterestedness in the government and the people.

## CHAPTER XLV. 1781-1806.

**The Debt of the Country and of Connecticut at the Close of the Revolutionary War.—Mr. Jay's commercial Treaty with Great Britain.—Effects in Connecticut.—Various Branches of Industry and Enterprise.—New Settlements.—Revival of the Fisheries.—General Hamilton's Plan for the Encouragement of Manufactures.—Importance of Mr. Whitney's Invention of the Cotton-gin.—Other Inventions.—The commercial Treaty of 1806.—American Commerce with Great Britain.**

PEACE found the United States with an immense amount of debt, and in a state of deep depression. Bills of credit for three millions were issued by the United Colonies in 1775, and considerable sums by particular colonies. In 1778 the amount was above one hundred millions. In 1776 the colonies were called upon to raise five millions by sums apportioned. Connecticut had \$600,000 of this to raise, while Massachusetts had only \$820,000, Pennsylvania \$620,000, Virginia \$800,000, New-Jersey \$270,000, North Carolina \$250,000, New-Hampshire and New-York \$200,000 each, Maryland \$520,000, South Carolina \$500,000, Georgia \$60,000, and Rhode Island \$100,000. Connecticut had the fourth sum in amount.

Connecticut, having suffered her full share in the expenses and trials of the war (excepting that none of her territory was ever long in possession of the enemy), had to endure a heavy part of the debt which it left upon the country. By an estimate made by Congress at the close of the war, it ap-

peared that it had cost about one hundred and thirty-five millions; and that the debt amounted to forty-two millions, of which eight millions consisted of money due to France and Holland. Congress proposed that \$1,500,000 should be paid by the states, each taking its quota, and raising it in any manner it might prefer. A committee was appointed to draw up an address to the people, recommending this plan. It consisted of Messrs. Madison, Hamilton, and Ellsworth of Connecticut. The portion allotted to Connecticut was \$132,000, that state being placed seventh on the list. This plan, however, failed; and it was not until 1786 that duties and imposts on foreign goods imported were appropriated to the payment of the national debt, by the consent of all the states.

In 1783 Mr. Jay formed a treaty with Great Britain, which allowed, for a term, to American vessels and goods, in England, Ireland, and Scotland, the same freedom enjoyed by those of England. Mr. Pitt endeavoured to get the principle extended to the colonies: but, instead of this, the famous orders in Council were passed, by which American vessels were not allowed to go to the British West Indies, and beef, pork, &c., were not permitted to be taken thither from this country, even in English vessels. It was then supposed in England that our government could not long exist, and that impediments to our commerce would the sooner bring back the country to seek the aid and protection of Great Britain. In 1788 Parliament confirmed those orders by its own acts. These measures gave a heavy blow to New-England, as was intended. The carrying-trade was what England was

now very jealous of, and wished to secure to herself. At the time, the ministry thought that restrictions upon it would soon cause a counter revolution: calculating on self-interest as more powerful than patriotism. But in this they were disappointed. In 1789, the exports from all the colonies amounted to about thirteen millions of dollars, and the imports to about twelve. Not far from one quarter of the imports and exports are to be set down to New-England. In that year the imports into Connecticut from the south of Europe amounted to only about \$1100, while the exports thither were \$11,000. From the West Indies the imports were \$240,000, and the exports thither \$320,000. Besides this, a considerable trade was carried on with Great Britain, the amount of which is not specified. We only know that the imports for all New-England were about \$910,000, and the exports \$640,000.

To show how American commerce increased, we have but to turn to the reports for 1791, when we find that the exports from the United States amounted to \$19,000,000, of which Connecticut had \$710,000. And the great amount was annually swelled, by a nearly regular increase, until the year 1797, when it decreased. The year before, viz., 1796, the exports of Connecticut amounted to \$1,450,000. It may easily be perceived, from these facts, that the people of Connecticut must naturally have felt some interest in all measures affecting trade.

According to the treaty made with Great Britain in 1783, our commerce with England, Ireland, and Scotland was free: but that with the West Indies

was left subject to the navigation and alien laws of that empire, somewhat relaxed. Parliament authorized the king and council to regulate the trade for a term, which was extended in succeeding years. On the 23d of December, 1783, an order in council was passed, which virtually forbade our vessels to trade with the West Indies : although, at the same time, and until 1791, we were allowed to send to England, Ireland, and Scotland, for the same duties as the British American colonies, all manufactured goods, pig and bar iron, pitch, tar, rosin, turpentine, pot and pearl ashes, masts and spars of American growth or production. The products of the fisheries were excepted ; and these were to pay the lowest duties required of foreign countries. Such regulations were also made, that many articles were admitted into England, Scotland, and Ireland without duty : as iron, wood, all lumber, flaxseed, and ashes ; and, in times of scarcity, grain also.

The third article of that treaty acknowledged the right of the Americans to fish on the Banks of Newfoundland : but that fishery was a source of no great wealth to the country until 1790. It was, for many years, almost confined to the people of Massachusetts.

By an order in council, passed in 1783, vessels were permitted to take to the West Indies American lumber, cattle, poultry, beef, pork, live provisions, and grain, and to export in return the productions of the islands, on the same terms as in the commerce with British colonies.

These arrangements had their effects in Connecticut ; and great activity in her numerous ports, large and small, was the result. Vessels of differ-



ent sizes were built on the river ; and a great variety of exports was furnished from her well-tilled farms and multiplying workshops. Horses were sent to the West Indies in great numbers, and the raising of mules was attended to for the same purpose, to keep up the stock of those useful animals in countries unfavourable to their increase. In return, the productions of the islands were abundant and cheap ; and, as the commerce and the carrying-trade were both enjoyed by the active northerners, the profits were great. Unhappily, however, vast moral evils were introduced with the vast quantities of rum which formed a large part of the return cargoes ; and, for a time, it seemed as if intemperance would bring total ruin.

The first direct tax was laid by Congress in 1798 ; and this mode of raising a revenue has been since resorted to three times. To avoid the odium which direct taxes naturally excite against rulers, other means of supplying the treasury were resorted to ; and the plan of General Hamilton was adopted, which provided for a revenue from duties on imports and the avails of public lands.

In 1798 it was ordered that two millions should be raised ; and that amount was apportioned among the states according to the valuation of houses, land, and slaves between twelve and fifty years of age. The apportionment of Connecticut was \$129,766, 0 cents, and 2 mills. The land in the United States was 163,746,686 acres, valued at nearly 480 millions of dollars ; there were 276,659 houses, valued at 140½ millions. Of these amounts Connecticut had 2,649,149 acres, valued at above 40 millions of dollars, and 23,565 houses, valued at about

eight millions. Connecticut, therefore, was then the fifth state with respect to the number of houses, and the sixth with respect to their value.

The average amount of tonnage owned in the United States in 1799, 1800, and 1801, was 131,123. The population in 1790 was 3,929,326, exclusive of the territory northwest of Ohio, which contained 35,691. Connecticut had 237,946 inhabitants, of whom 60,523 were free white males of 16 years old and over ; 54,403 under 16 ; and 117,448 free white females. The other free persons (that is, Indians) amounted to 2808.

After the close of the war, the people of Connecticut began to apply themselves with energy to every branch of business which afforded encouragement. There was more inducement offered to them to devise a variety of employments than to the people of most other states, as they had but a small territory for their numbers, and generally an indifferent soil. They were now no longer forbidden to manufacture what they pleased ; and some began to seek employment on the seas, while others thought of settlements in other parts of the country. Many of the land titles given to the soldiers were sold : but settlements in Ohio were hardly commenced until General Meigs removed from Middletown to Marietta, and formed one of the first settlements in the territory of that state. The middle and western parts of the state of New-York were almost a wilderness when Mr. White left Middletown with his axe on his shoulder, and chose a place for himself at Whitestown, on the north bank of the Mohawk. Since that time an unknown multitude of

men, women, and children have left Connecticut, and assisted, in an important degree, in forming the population of all the new western states. In some places, especially within a few past years, considerable communities have emigrated in company, and settled together in distinct townships or districts, transplanting all their habits and manners, and inculcating them on their descendants. Many persons born in that state have long been inhabitants of other states; and, in consequence of the general diffusion of education, have carried many happy influences with them.

“During the six years which preceded the revolutionary war in America,” says Dr. Dwight, “religion experienced no very material change; and it may be doubted whether it gained or lost ground. But in the progress of this war it suffered far more than in that of 1755. All the evils which flowed from the former were multiplied in the latter. The foreigners with whom they had intercourse were not so numerous, perhaps, as in the war of 1755; but many of them were of far more dissolute characters. They were Frenchmen; disciples of Voltaire, Rousseau, D’Alembert, and Diderot; men holding that loose and undefined atheism, which neither believes nor disbelieves the existence of God, and perfectly indifferent whether he exists or not.” \* \* \* “To aid in the work of ruin, the paper currency of the country operated in the most powerful and malignant manner.” The same writer adds, in enumerating the evils produced by the war, that “the influence resulting from a weak and fluctuating government on the morals and happiness of mankind,

is, to say the least, not less malignant than that of a settled despotism." This, unhappily, was the nature of the Confederation.

The Constitution of the United States was formed by a Convention held in New-York, Connecticut being represented by three members: William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman, and Oliver Ellsworth.

The Congress allowed the accounts presented by the different states for expenses paid for the war. All the southern and middle states were in arrears, except New-Jersey, South Carolina, and Georgia. New-York alone was in arrears \$2,074,846. Connecticut had paid \$9,285,787, 92 cts., and the balance due her from the United States was \$619,121.

In 1790 Congress gave a great impulse to the cod fishery, by allowing a drawback on exported fish, which met the duty on salt. The people of Massachusetts embarked again in the business, and soon derived as great profits from it as before the Revolution, when they furnished a large share of the 4000 men then employed in it. The whale fishery also began to recover itself about this time; for in 1789 there were 91 American vessels engaged in the northern branch of it, with a tonnage of 5820, and in the southern 31 vessels, of 4390 tons and 1611 seamen. Connecticut, within a few years, has engaged to a considerable extent in the whale fishery.

This year Mr. Hamilton, the secretary of state, made a celebrated report in favour of encouraging and protecting manufactures. Attempts had been made, without much success, in 1783. Manufac-

ories of cotton and wool existed in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New-Jersey ; and Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth had one in Hartford, at which a suit of clothes was made, in which General Washington was dressed when he delivered his speech to Congress in January, 1790. As the wars in Europe gave much occupation to the Americans, little was done with manufactures until 1807, under our own restrictive system. Mr. Gallatin, secretary of the treasury, estimated the manufactures of the Union in 1810 at 120 millions. The returns of the marshals who made the census show that Connecticut made in a year 4,086,898 yards of cloths of various kinds, valued at \$2,139,826, and had 16,132 looms. This was supposed to be about a quarter less than the true amount. Only seven states gave larger returns. Massachusetts was less, and Rhode Island more. Cotton manufactories had been introduced at Providence by Samuel Slater some time after the war, and gradually extended. In Connecticut were now 14 factories, with 11,883 spindles. In 1831 there were 94 cotton-mills or factories, with 235,753 spindles, and 5773 looms, which made 37,121,681 yards, from 10,414,578 lbs. of cotton, employing 1731 males, at \$5 22 cts. a week, and 3297 females, at \$2 20, besides 3472 children under 10 years of age, at \$1 50. The capital employed was \$2,825,000.

In 1792 the exports of the United States to Great Britain and her dominions amounted to \$9,363,416 ; and the imports from them to \$15,285,428. By the treaty of 1794, liberty of commerce was secured with England, Ireland, and Scotland, the ships of both countries having to pay

no higher duties than those of the most favoured nations, and Great Britain retaining the right of laying as high a tonnage duty as the United States. This treaty (except the first ten articles) expired in 1803. The West India trade was closed to us, except when occasionally opened to supply the wants of the islands. This was done for a time by the proclamations of the governors, and afterward by the king in council.

In 1806 a treaty was formed : but the West India trade was still at the control of England. Our tonnage was nearly the same in amount in 1805, '6, and '7, as it had been for several preceding years.

While the ports of England, Ireland, and Scotland were open to our vessels, our exports generally exceeded our imports, and the profits of the trade were chiefly enjoyed by our countrymen. The principal exports thither were cotton, rice, and tobacco ; and sometimes wheat and flour, flax seed, naval stores, ashes, and whale oil. The imports were manufactured goods. Connecticut furnished some of the latter articles, and much shipping.

It was a prominent point in the policy of Washington to guard our country against "entangling alliances" with foreign nations ; and it is impossible to calculate all the forms and degrees to which it has influenced us. That policy prevailed ; and his administration and that of John Adams did not incline to take part in the disputes of other powers. Though there were constant wars in Europe, our country had no share in the contests ; and our merchants furnished ships for a great part of the carrying trade. Bonaparte at length deter-

mined that no nation should stand neutral; and Mr. Jefferson seemed disposed to have the United States co-operate with France. The mission of Citizen Genet (which is hereafter to be mentioned) appeared to have such an object directly in view; and, if so, the exertions of his opponents in Connecticut probably had an important influence on the subsequent state of the Union.

Connecticut has been distinguished for the number of its inventors. One of the most distinguished inventors in the United States was Mr. Eli Whitney, a native of Massachusetts, who spent many years of his useful life at New-Haven, Connecticut. In 1791 he invented the cotton gin, which was soon brought into general use in the Southern States, and rendered upland cotton a profitable crop, by separating the seeds from the fibre in a cheap and expeditious manner. He received from South Carolina \$60,000 for his patent in that state: but this, in consequence of large expenses incurred in vainly seeking remuneration in several of the states, was a very inadequate reward for his most useful machine. He invented great improvements in making muskets, and established a very successful manufactory at New-Haven.

The manufacture of tin ware was first begun in Meriden; and for many years the United States were chiefly supplied from that place, by wagons which were sent out in all directions. The tin plate was imported from England. Numerous manufactories now exist in different parts of the Union. Several useful inventions were made in East Haddam soon after the Revolution, particularly a machine for cutting out iron screws.

A machine for making bricks was invented and put into operation at Hartford by Mr. Kingsley, by which the clay, after being received into a cylinder, was ground, moulded, and delivered in perfect form. In the same town was established a type-foundry by Mr. White, in which important improvements were introduced by him.

The Hatter's Circular Dye-kettle and Wheel, which have been extensively adopted by hatters in Europe as well as in America, were invented in Danbury in 1823, by Joel Taylor.

These inventions, and the numerous models of useful machines deposited in the patent office in Washington by Connecticut, show the ingenuity of the people of this state.

The first cotton-mill ever used in Connecticut was put into operation in Manchester in 1794. Arkwright's ingenious and useful invention, which had been adopted in England, had excited the attention of intelligent and enterprising men in America, and several unsuccessful experiments were made. The opinion too extensively prevailed, that our countrymen were not capable of managing it with success; and it required experience to establish the opposite belief. The cotton-mill or factory at Manchester was fitted up under the direction of an Englishman, by Messrs. Pitkin & Co.; and velvets, corduroys, and fustians were fabricated. This was the second put into operation in the United States, being preceded only by that established by Samuel Slater in Providence, and before the one first set up in New-Jersey. Little, however, was done in the manufacture of cotton in Connecticut until 1804.



## CHAPTER XLVI. 1806-1812.

**The Attachment of Connecticut to the Policy of Washington.—Her Adherence to the Federal Party.—The Non-intercourse Laws.—The Embargo.—War declared against Great Britain in 1812.—Act of Congress to raise 100,000 Militia.—Governor Griswold required to detach 3000 Men.—General Dearborn applies for Militia to do garrison Duty under United States Officers.—He is refused by the Governor.—The Legislature approves of his Refusal.—The Ground of it.**

As Connecticut was one of the earliest and most decided, active, and persevering members of the United Colonies in resisting British oppression, she was also one of the most devoted friends of the Constitution, as well as of Washington, and his principles and policy. A modern French writer has remarked, that "it is the glory of America that she was wise enough to appreciate and acknowledge Washington in spite of the little exertion he made to present himself to public view."

Connecticut, then, deserves a large share of the honour. In no part of the country was there an earlier, more unanimous, or decided sentiment in favour of the principles he adopted and the measures he pursued during the Revolution, and the policy, both internal and external, which was established under his administration after the return of peace. The people were among the warmest admirers of his virtues, and faithfully transmitted to their children an exalted reverence for him whom they loved to call "The Father of his Country."

During his administration, which extended from 1789 till 1797, and that of John Adams, of Massachusetts, which was from 1797 to 1801, several distinguished Connecticut men held high national offices. Oliver Wolcott was appointed secretary of the treasury in 1795, and continued till 1800; Oliver Ellsworth chief-justice in 1796, and minister to France in 1799; Jonathan Trumbull speaker of the House of Representatives in 1792; Colonel Humphreys minister to Spain in 1796, and afterward to Portugal; Roger Griswold secretary of war in 1801.

When Mr. Jefferson opposed the Constitution, and the Anti-federal party began to be formed, Connecticut was ranged among its adherents, and uniformly opposed his views and administration. In the course of it, Citizen Genêt, as he was called in the republican language of France (or, rather, the dialect of atheism), came to the United States as envoy from that country, and began a tour through the states, to form "Democratic Societies." The plan of these was to organize a correspondence with Jacobin associations in France, whose objects were understood to be political, and aimed directly against the independence of Great Britain. The people of Connecticut accused Mr. Jefferson of a strong partiality for the infidel and revolutionary principles of the French government of those times; and, regarding Great Britain as the bulwark of the Christian religion and human liberty in Europe, had no desire to see the United States joining with her enemies and co-operating for her destruction. Washington was decidedly opposed to "entangling alliances" with other na-

tions ; and his advice they held in high respect. When Citizen Genêt, therefore, approached Connecticut, although he was preceded by accounts of the favour and success he had met in other places, he found the feelings of the people so different from what he wished, and his enterprise was treated with so much irony and ridicule by some of the literary men of Hartford, that he turned back without crossing the boundary, gave up all attempts in New-England, and soon abandoned his whole enterprise in America.

Mr. Jefferson left the presidency in 1809, after being in it eight years. His opponents (including most of the people of Connecticut) still charged him with want of the practical good sense, and the knowledge of government necessary to perform well the duties of a leading statesman ; and asserted that he had neither introduced nor proposed a single change in the internal policy of the country. They also charged him with want of sincerity in declaring that the leading Federalists were friends of royalty, and entertained the design of converting the American republic into a monarchy. The people of Connecticut, whose institutions had been of the most democratic character from the early history of their colony, whose habits and manners had ever been simple and republican, and who, after sustaining the Revolution with distinguished spirit, had exercised their characteristic good faith in steadily adhering to the constitution and laws of the United States, regarded the charge of monarchical predilections against men of their choice as unprovoked and injurious.

As the succeeding administration of Mr. Madi-

son pursued the policy of Mr. Jefferson, and Connecticut maintained her former views, her representatives formed an active portion of the minority in Congress who opposed the non-intercourse laws of 1809, and the declaration of war against England in 1812. Some of her merchants had suffered the loss of vessels taken by the French under the Berlin and Milan decrees, as well as by the English under the orders in Council; and they accused the administration of a dangerous partiality for the former, while they were unwilling to engage in a contest with either. Their commerce had suffered severely from the embargo and non-intercourse acts (the exports having fallen from above a million and a half to less than half a million), and now it seemed to be in danger of total destruction.

War with Great Britain was declared by Congress on the 18th of June, 1812, to the great regret of the majority of the people of Connecticut, and of several of the other states. Two reasons were alleged for the war: the British orders in Council, and the claim of that government to the right of search, or taking her seamen from American ships. The opposers of the declaration of war urged that negotiation should be longer tried before an appeal to arms, and charged the administration with a partiality for France, and a wish to favour her by weakening Great Britain, her principal opponent. The minority in the United States House of Representatives published an address to the people, with their reasons for voting against the declaration of war.

Two months afterward, Congress passed an act

authorizing President Madison to require of the governors of the states and territories to hold in readiness their proportions of "*one hundred thousand militia, to march at a moment's warning.*" These were to be "officered out of the present militia officers or others, at the option and discretion of the constitutional authority in the respective states and territories; the President of the United States appointing the general officers among the respective states and territories as he may deem proper." The president was also "authorized to call into actual service any part or the whole of said detachment, in the exigences provided by the Constitution."

On the 15th of April the secretary of war wrote to the governor of Connecticut, requiring him to detach 3000 men as the quota of that state; to equip and organize them in companies, battalions, regiments, brigades, and divisions as soon as possible, in the proportions of one twentieth artillery, one twentieth cavalry, and the residue infantry. One tenth part or less might be riflemen, if desired. These troops were to be exercised, but not embodied nor considered as in actual service until ordered into the field. It had been generally believed, especially at Washington, that the president and his friends seriously intended to invade Canada; and the anxiety of the people of New-England was great when they perceived how much their seacoast lay exposed to the enemy, knowing that it was almost entirely unprovided with forts as well as troops.

Mr. Eustis, secretary of war, on the 12th of June, wrote to Governor Griswold a request from

the president that he would order into service the quota of the state on the requisition of Major-general Dearborn; and the governor replied, on the 17th, that he should do so without delay. On the 22d, General Dearborn requested of him two companies of artillery and two of infantry, "to be placed under the command of the commanding officer at Fort Trumbull, near New-London; and one company of artillery, to be stationed at the battery at the entrance of the harbour of New-Haven." Governor Griswold did not comply with this request; and gave his reasons to the Council, which he convoked to consider the subject in October. He stated that the act of Congress of April 10th authorized the president to call for militia only "in exigences provided by the Constitution;" and that the Constitution provides for no exigences except three: viz., "to execute the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;" and, as none of these exigences existed, the president was not authorized to make the demand; and he (the governor) would violate his duty if he should comply with it. The council approved of his conduct, while they declared that the state would "ever support the national government in all constitutional measures." They alluded to the intention of General Dearborn to place the troops under United States officers, and to detach a part of the organized militia. The former, especially, they viewed as unconstitutional, as the Constitution provides that officers shall be appointed by the states. The exigences above mentioned not existing, they viewed the governor as "of right the commander-in-chief of the militia, and that they cannot thus be

withdrawn from his authority." Massachusetts adopted a similar course.

On the 15th of July, General Dearborn wrote to the governors of Connecticut and Massachusetts that he had been ordered to Albany to place the northern frontier in a state of defence, and would soon be obliged to draw off so many of the regular troops, that it would be necessary to call a portion of the militia to guard the coast, as it would otherwise be left with less protection "than prudence would have justified." The advice of his council was asked by Governor Strong, and the opinion of the supreme court of that state, which then consisted of Theophilus Parsons, Samuel Sewall, and Isaac Parker; and their replies coincided with his views and conduct.

Governor Griswold's health was now declining, so that the duties of his office had devolved on the lieutenant-governor for a time, John Cotton Smith. He wrote to the secretary of war on the 2d of July, that the militia demanded by General Dearborn would not be called out; and the secretary replied on the 14th that he was instructed by the president to state, that the danger of invasion actually existed, although the news of war could hardly have reached England. General Dearborn, on the 17th of July, repeated his request for the five companies, adding that those to be sent to Fort Trumbull should be under a major appointed by the state: but this, of course, was also declined.

The governor met the council on the 4th of August, when they agreed that the only ground for demanding the militia which was then taken (viz., the fact that war had been declared) must

exist as long as war should continue. It was also demanded that the militia should do ordinary garrison duty ; and, on the same principle, they might " be called to march to any place within the United States to perform the same duty, and this from time to time, and at all times, during the continuance of the war." They farther objected, that the militia were not demanded from places most convenient to the place of danger or scene of action, although that is expressly provided for by the act of Congress of February 28th, 1795. The Council remarked, " It is believed that the militia of this state would be among the first to perform their constitutional duties, and not among the last to understand and justly to appreciate their constitutional rights." \* \* \* " But if the Congress of the United States have seen fit to declare war before they have carried into effect another provision of the Constitution to raise and support armies, it does not follow that the militia are bound to enter their forts and garrisons to perform ordinary garrison duty, and wait for an invasion which may never happen." " It is surely important," they added, " that the Constitution and sovereignty of this state should not be impaired or encroached upon ; that the powers ' delegated to the United States ' may be exercised, and the powers ' reserved to the states respectively ' may be retained." The Council therefore advised the governor " to retain the militia of this state under his command, and decline a compliance with the requisition of the secretary of war and Major-general Dearborn.

The General Assembly was now called to meet on the fourth Tuesday of August ; and, after com-



municating the foregoing particulars, and asking their attention to them, he says that "the Constitution provides for each state's organizing and supporting a military force of its own, which cannot, under any circumstances, be controlled by the general government, and which may undoubtedly be applied in all cases to the defence of the state." He recommended that such a force should be organized, but so as not to "interfere with any liberal measures which the general government may take for the same object." The Assembly passed the following resolution :

Resolved, That the conduct of his excellency the governor, in refusing to order the militia of this state into the service of the United States, on the requisition of the secretary of war and Major-general Dearborn, meets with the entire approbation of this Assembly." They also declared, that "they believe it to be the deliberate and solemn sense of the people of the state that war was unnecessary." An election took place very soon after this meeting, and 163 members were chosen of the party called the Federal, and 36 of that called the Democratic, giving the former a majority of 127.

When Congress met in November, the president informed them, in his message, that the governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut had refused to furnish their detachments of militia ; proceeding on "a novel and unfortunate exposition of the Constitution, by which the authority of the United States to call out and command the militia might be frustrated, even in war, and under apprehensions of invasions preceding war, and the unity of the nation destroyed. The only resource might be,"

he added, "in those large and permanent military establishments which are forbidden by the principles of our free government." This part of the address was referred to a committee of the Senate, the chairman of which was Mr. Giles, of Virginia : but they made no report on the subject.

Governor Griswold was regarded by most of the people of the state as having taken a stand of great importance : because the claim which he maintained, if it had been yielded up, would probably have been lost for ever, and every militia man, in time of war, would have been constantly exposed to be made a common soldier, to march to the extremities of the country, and even to invade foreign lands, at the will of an officer of the United States' army. The governor died during the October session ; and Lieutenant-governor Smith was afterward elected in his place.

The first invasion of Canada was made that season by General Hull, who commanded the army in Michigan : but he soon retreated to Detroit, where he surrendered the town, with all his troops and that territory. Captain Hull, a native of Connecticut, in sailing without orders from New-York in August, in the frigate *Constitution*, captured the British frigate *Guerriere* after a severe action ; and several naval victories over single ships were gained at different periods of the war.

In 1813 the coast was blockaded for some time by several British ships of war, cruising near New-London, where General Burbeck was in command, under the United States' authority. Even the enemy's small naval force was sufficient to cause continual alarm, as the American navy

had been neglected by the government, as an inefficient and too expensive arm of national defence, and was too feeble to oppose them. A body of militia was stationed at New-London under General Burbeck, who was commander of that military district, as there was then an actual invasion. On the first week in July, Governor Smith detached another body of militia for New-London from other parts of the state ; immediately after which he was informed by General Burbeck, that he had received orders from Washington to discharge the militia at that place. They were accordingly discharged : but, in a few days, an express came to Governor Smith, with a letter from General Burbeck, demanding another detachment for the defence of New-London. The British squadron had received a re-enforcement, and now amounted to two ships of the line, two frigates, a brig, and several transports : and the citizens of that town and Groton also sent an urgent petition for protection. The governor immediately complied ; and, at the request of the Council, which he convoked on the 20th, sent another detachment. Many of the troops who had been first called out were from the vicinity of New-London, and now were ordered out again, after one term of service, instead of those who had been called out to relieve them, and disbanded by orders from Washington. This was unnecessarily harassing.

The Assembly met in October, when a joint committee, in a report on the subject of the war, spoke of "the general plan of warfare adopted by the administration of the national government as not conformable to the spirit of the Constitution of

the United States." The inhabitants of the coasts, they said, "had an undoubted and imperative right to such protection as the government could provide: instead of which, the regular forces have been, almost without exception, ordered away from the Atlantic frontier to the interior of the country, for the purpose of carrying hostilities into the territory of unoffending provinces, and in pursuit of conquests which, if achieved, would probably produce no solid benefit to the nation; while the sea-coast is left exposed to the multiplied horrors usually produced by an invading and exasperated enemy."

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## CHAPTER XLVII. 1813-1814.

**The War continues.—The British Squadron off New-London.—Three United States' Ships driven by it into New-London.—Troops demanded and furnished by Connecticut for their Protection and the Defence of that place.—Capture of Poutapang by the British.—Destruction of Property.—The Governor and Legislature complain that Connecticut is left unprotected by the General Government.—Requisition on Connecticut for 3000 men.—Attack on Stonington by a British Fleet.—The Coast of the United States kept in a state of Alarm.—The Capture of Washington and Alexandria.—Defeat and Death of General Ross near Baltimore.**

In June, 1813, the United States frigates *United States* and *Macedonian*, with the sloop-of-war *Hornet*, passed down Long Island Sound to proceed to sea: but, finding the British squadron in the way, they took refuge in New-London harbour. It was thought that the enemy might follow and attempt to capture them; and this caused much alarm,

because there was no considerable force for their protection. The ships were therefore taken about six miles up the river Thames, and laid up under the high banks, to which their guns were afterward raised to command the spot. Governor Smith was urgently requested to provide for the defence of New-London and the national vessels; and immediately ordered a large body of militia to be stationed at that city and other places near it, under the command of Major-general Williams. Some of these troops were detached from those in service, and others were raised for the purpose.

On the evening of April 7th, 1814, two or three ships of the British squadron came to the mouth of Connecticut River, anchored outside the bar, and sent up two launches, armed with nine and twelve-pound carronades, and fifty or sixty men each, with four barges carrying about twenty-five men apiece, under the command of Lieutenant Coote. They went prepared with torches and combustibles, to burn a number of vessels at Pou-tapaug, which had been laid up near that enterprising little village, now called Essex. Some of the boats stopped a short time at Saybrook Point, about midnight, where the inhabitants were unprotected and unable to make any resistance, though a few men in the old fort would have sufficed. The enemy did no injury there, but proceeded for Pou-tapaug. Though that was only five or six miles farther, the wind was strong from the north and the water high, so that they did not arrive there before four in the morning. The people had no notice of their approach more than half an hour before they arrived; and, no measures having been taken for

their defence, the enemy posted sentinels around the place, broke open stores and houses in search of arms and ammunition, and set fire to the shipping. They destroyed 22 vessels of different sizes, worth about \$160,000, of which amount \$60,000 was owned in the village. At 10 o'clock the boats departed; and the militia, having assembled at several points on both banks, gave them some annoyance, but could not prevent their return.

It is remarkable, that most of the places within the bounds of Connecticut which have suffered from the invasion of enemies, are near or upon the spots in which the Indians were treated with cruelty in the early history of the colony. Poutapaug is the spot where Uncas landed when proceeding against the Pequod country with Captain Mason in 1636; and near this place he and his Mohegans tortured to death one of the enemy, when they ought to have been prevented by the English. In Stonington is the Pequod fort which was burned, with many of its inhabitants. In Fairfield is the swamp in which some of the remnants of the warlike Pequod nation were killed or captured, to be exported as slaves. New-London was the chief residence of that people; and, from the eastern shore of their favourite bay, near the foot of the hill on which Groton fort was erected, some of them were forcibly driven by Captain Church, after they had returned to cultivate their native soil.

Meanwhile, the government of the United States furnished few or no troops for the defence of those parts of the country most exposed to invasion. Connecticut was left entirely unprotected. Gov-

ernor Smith, in his speech to the Legislature in May of that year, remarked as follows: "I am not informed that any effectual arrangements are made by the national government to put our sea-coast into a more respectable state of defence. Should the plan of the last campaign be revived, and especially should the war retain the desolating character it has been made to assume, the states on the Atlantic border cannot be insensible to the dangers which await them. *To provide for our common defence* was an avowed, and, it may be said with truth, the chief purpose for which the present Constitution was formed. How far this object is promoted by aiming at foreign conquest, and resigning our most wealthy and populous frontier to pillage and devastation, becomes a momentous inquiry." \* \* \* "In any event, I am persuaded that we shall place no reliance on a declared enemy; and that, if the aid to which we are entitled is withheld, the means which God has given us will be faithfully employed for our safety. It is with concern I lay before you an official statement of the destruction of a very considerable number of private vessels at Saybrook, by a detachment from the British squadron. The misfortune is imbibbered by the reflection that it would probably have been prevented by a small force stationed at Fort Fenwick, at the entrance of Connecticut River. It will be recollected that a guard, authorized by the United States, was kept at that post nearly the whole of the last season. It was dismissed early in December. Information of the exposed condition of these vessels, and of the consequent apprehensions of the town for their safety, was duly

transmitted to the war department, and the attention of the government to these important objects was earnestly solicited. It was presumed, as there were regular troops in the vicinity, either that the request would be promptly complied with, or, if such an arrangement was inconvenient, that this government would be frankly and seasonably apprized of it. In the latter case, the force of the state would have been applied not less readily to the protection of the persons and property of our citizens, than it had been to the defence of the national squadron."

In July, 1814, Governor Smith received a letter from the department of war, being a circular, copies of which were sent to the governors of several other states. The secretary (General Armstrong) having remarked that "the late pacification in Europe offers to the enemy a large disposable force, both naval and military," adds, that "the president deemed it advisable to invite the executive of certain states to organize, and hold in readiness for immediate service, a corps of 93,500 men, under the laws of February, 1795, and the 18th of April, 1814."

The detail of the requisition on Connecticut was as follows: three regiments, viz., 300 artillery, 2700 infantry; total, 3000. General staff, one major-general, one brigadier-general, one deputy-quartermaster-general, one assistant-adjutant-general. General Cushing made a requisition on Governor Smith for 1700 of these troops, of which Gen. Taylor took command: afterward the whole 3000 were ordered out, and stationed at points most exposed to the enemy.



On the 9th of August Stonington was attacked by the enemy. The *Ramifies* 74 (the flagship), the *Pactolus* 38, a bombship, and the 22-gun brig *Despatch*, were observed in the morning; and at 5 o'clock notice was received from Commodore Hardy by the magistrates that they would destroy the town, after allowing one hour for the removal of the inhabitants and their effects. The officer said that Admiral Cochrane had ordered the destruction of the place, and that no propositions would be received.

The fort on the Point was immediately occupied by a few volunteers, though it had only a slight breastwork and two 18 and one 4 pounder on field carriages, while some militia were stationed at different places on the shore by Lieutenant Hough, expresses sent off to General Cushing at New-London for help, and the inhabitants hurried into the country. General Cushing, the United States commander of the district, considering the movement as only a feint to draw off his forces from Fort Griswold, arranged with the commanding state officer, to send a regiment to Stonington, one to the head of Mystic River to guard Fort Griswold, a regiment of artillery to Norwich port to protect the United States' ships, and a like force to New-London.

At 8 in the morning the bombardment of Stonington commenced; and it continued till midnight, with frequent discharges of rockets and carcasses from a number of barges and launches, while the fort fired in return. It is remarkable that no injury was done by the enemy. At daylight the boats, having passed round to the east side of the

town, began their firing again: but they were soon driven off by one of the cannon brought from the fort. The brig, however, coming up near the Point, the fort was abandoned after spiking the guns, and she kept an ineffectual fire upon the town during an hour. In the mean time, a considerable number of troops having arrived, as well as a supply of powder, one of the large guns at the fort was bored, and directed with such effect that the brig drew off.

The two larger vessels then anchored within two miles of the town, when the magistrates sent a flag of truce on board, asking the commodore's designs. He demanded a promise that no torpedoes should be sent against the squadron, and that Mrs. Stewart, the wife of the British consul at New-London, should be sent on board. They replied that they had no control over that lady. Bombshells were thrown from 3 P.M. till night, and from the following morning till noon, accompanied with the fire of the other ships. During this time only 50 men were left in the town to extinguish fires, as the few guns of the Americans could not reach the enemy; and, although most of the houses were injured, and some set on fire, none were destroyed, no lives lost, and only two or three men wounded. The Norwich artillery, under Lieutenant Lathrop, distinguished themselves, next to the defenders of the fort, by boldness and activity in this brave and successful defence. The enemy, having been entirely thwarted in their unjustifiable design, abandoned the undertaking; and the safety of other places on the coast is to be attributed in a great measure to the gallantry of these militia-men.

In 1814 the British cruisers kept the whole Atlantic coast in a state of alarm, and destroyed so much property wherever they made a descent, that the public anxiety was extreme in places most exposed to their ships. They held complete command of Chesapeake Bay; and in August landed a large force, which, with little opposition, marched through Bladensburgh to Washington. All the national buildings, except the Patent Office, were burned. Alexandria was at the same time captured by a squadron, and robbed of all her naval stores and merchandise, as well as shipping. Baltimore was next attacked, but successfully defended by extraordinary bravery and exertions; and the enemy retreated to their vessels with the loss of their commander, General Ross.

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## CHAPTER XLVIII. 1815.

The President calls an extra Session of Congress.—Alarming Apprehensions from the Enemy.—Mr. Monroe's Plan for increasing and concentrating the Military Power of the United States.—Resolutions passed by the Assembly of Connecticut, protesting against it as Unconstitutional and threatening to Liberty.—Castine captured by the Enemy.—Petitions to the Legislature of Massachusetts for a Convention.—It meets at Hartford.—Its Proceedings.—The News of Peace.—Received with general Joy.

THE president convoked Congress in September, 1814, when he expressed expectations of an increase of the enemy's force, with determined at-

tempts from them to conquer the United States. He, with Mr. Monroe, secretary of war, recommended an increase of the regular troops (from 62,448 men to 102,448), and a more efficient organization of the militia. He spoke of the nation as one "contending for its existence against an enemy powerful by land and sea," and "forced to contend again for our liberties and independence." He said it was "the avowed purpose of the enemy to lay waste and destroy our cities and villages, and to desolate our coast, of which examples have already been afforded;" and it was "evidently his intention to press the war along the whole extent of our seaboard;" also, that there was "reason to presume that it is the intention to press the war from Canada on the adjoining states, while attempts are to be made on the city of New-York and other important points, with a view to dismemberment or subjugation." He inferred, besides, that parts of the scheme were to continue to invade the country near Washington, and to capture New-Orleans. One hundred thousand regular troops, actively aided on emergencies by militia and volunteers, he thought, would ensure success, "fix on a solid and imperishable foundation our union and independence," and secure "an early and advantageous peace."

The secretary of war, at the same time, declared in his report, that "if the United States sacrifice any right or make any dishonourable concession to the claims of the British government, the spirit of the nation will be broken, and the foundation of their union and independence shaken. The United States must relinquish no right, or perish in the

struggle. There is no intermediate ground to rest on."

Such expressions and propositions, from such officers as the president and secretary of war, caused a strong sensation. Those who were opposed to the war charged the administration with having rashly engaged in it when Napoleon was on his march into Russia with the prospect of victory; and now, after his defeat and flight had led to a general peace in Europe, with being afraid of the consequences, and ready to resort to desperate measures, dangerous to the country. The orders in Council having been repealed immediately after the declaration, no ground remained except the question of the impressment of seamen; and that might probably be soon satisfactorily settled by negotiation during an armistice. Common sense, as well as Christianity, they urged, should demand that hostilities be at least suspended between two Protestant nations, united by language, mutual interests, and blood.

To increase the regular army, Mr. Monroe had proposed two plans. The former was to divide the citizens of the United States into divisions of 100 men each, so that each division might embrace a nearly equal amount of property, and be required to furnish and equip a number of men for the army, paying them a sum equal to the bounty allowed to soldiers by the United States. If not paid, their taxable property was to be levied on to raise it. The recruits were to be delivered to the recruiting officer of the district, and marched whithersoever the secretary of war might direct. It was proposed also, soon after, by the secretary

of the navy, to keep a register of all the seamen in the country, and require them to perform service in the navy in turn, when needed. A bill was brought before the Senate to authorize the enlistment of men between 18 and 50 years of age, without requiring the consent of parents or guardians for minors ; and this, perhaps, as much as any other step, excited extreme anxiety, especially among "the cautious people" of Connecticut. The Assembly were in session when the news arrived ; and the Representatives passed a resolution, with but six dissentient voices, that, whereas a bill was pending by which "our sons, brothers, and friends are made liable to be delivered against their wills, and by force, to the marshals and recruiting officers of the United States, to be employed, not for our own defence, but for the conquest of Canada, or upon any foreign service upon which the administration may choose to send them, or impose upon the people of this state 'a capitation or other direct tax,' limited by no rules but the will of the officers appointed by the President of the United States ;" and whereas such principles are oppressive, subversive of liberty, inconsistent with the Constitution, &c. ; "and whereas it will become the imperious duty of the Legislature of this state to ward off a blow so fatal to the liberties of a free people," it was determined that the governor should immediately convoke the Legislature in case the bill should be adopted.

In the course of the same season the British captured Castine, and had command of that part of Maine east from it, and threatened farther encroachments ; and the Legislature of Massachu-

setts, in a great majority, sustained Governor Strong in a course like that taken by Connecticut.

Some of the difficulties of the times, were increased by the suspension of specie payments by most of the banks south of Connecticut; and this threatened to enhance the great pecuniary embarrassments caused by the war. Connecticut had already suffered much: for the government of the United States had decidedly refused to pay the expenses of the troops for the two preceding years.

Early in the year, numerous towns in Massachusetts had petitioned for energetic measures for the protection of the country, proposing a convention of delegates from other states, to devise "proper methods to procure the united efforts of the commercial states, to obtain such amendments and explanations of the Constitution as will secure them from farther evils. This was the origin of the Hartford Convention, which consisted of twelve delegates from the Massachusetts legislature, seven from that of Connecticut, four from that of Rhode Island, two from two counties of New-Hampshire, and one from a county of Vermont.

The delegates from Connecticut were appointed at the October session of the Assembly, on the invitation of that of Massachusetts; and, after an address, a resolution was also adopted, declaring that they were to meet other delegates to confer on subjects proposed by Massachusetts, and others which might come before them, "for the purpose of devising and recommending such measures for the safety and welfare of these states as may consist with our obligations as members of the National Union."

The delegates met on the 15th of December; and, after a session of three weeks, adjourned, providing for another meeting in case of need, and publishing a report of their proceedings. Many had denounced the meeting as treasonable. Their resolutions were in substance these: to recommend measures to be taken to guard the citizens "from the operation and effects of all acts" of the United States "subjecting the militia or other citizens to forcible draughts, conscriptions, or impressments, not authorized by the Constitution of the United States;" to petition the general government to allow the states to defend themselves; and that a portion of their taxes be given to pay the balance due and future expenses; and to request the legislatures to authorize their governors to detach militia or form volunteer corps ready for service, and send them to assist any neighbouring state to repel invasion. The Convention then proposed seven amendments to the United States' Constitution, to be laid before a general convention if approved by legislatures. These amendments were, in brief, to have representatives and taxes apportioned according to the number of free persons and those held to service for a term of years, excluding Indians not taxed and slaves; that a vote of two thirds of both houses should be required to admit any new state into the Union, or to forbid commerce with any foreign country; that no embargo should be laid by the president for more than sixty days; that two thirds of Congress shall be required to declare or make war, except for defence; that no person thereafter to be naturalized be eligible to Congress, and hold no civil office under United States' au-



thority ; that the same person should not be twice president ; and that two presidents should not be elected from any one state twice in succession.

Soon after, the news was received of the conclusion of peace with Great Britain ; and it excited general satisfaction, especially in New-England. The right of search was not renounced by Great Britain ; for the treaty was made without mentioning it. The opposers of the war, therefore, persisted in their opinion that it had been unnecessary, and resorted to from partiality to the French party in Europe.

All, however, united in active preparations for the pleasing employments of peace along the streams and in the numerous little harbours of Connecticut. Vessels were drawn from their hiding-places, and the banks began again to ring with the cheerful sounds of reviving commerce. A period of gloom and dissension was past, in which the country had been still more agitated by internal dissension than distressed or disquieted by foreign foes.

## CHAPTER XLIX. 1814.

**Depression of Manufactures.—Fall of Prices.—Immense Moral Evils resulting from the Trade with the West Indies.—Intemperance prevails.—Temperance Societies.**

THE return of peace caused a great and sudden fall in the prices of most of the necessaries of life as well as its luxuries; and many merchants and manufacturers in different parts of the country became bankrupt.

In 1815 a convention was held to regulate the commerce between the United States and Great Britain for four years; and it was agreed that vessels should pay at British ports in Europe the same duties on tonnage and imports as those laid on British vessels in the United States. No arrangement, however, was made with respect to our trade with the West Indies.

The value of land in the different states was estimated in 1814 and 1815; and the general average was made out at \$10 per acre, while that of Connecticut was placed as high as \$34.

The commerce with Great Britain and parts of the West Indies was soon restored; and immense moral injury was caused by the latter branch of trade for many years, by the introduction of vast quantities of rum, and the distillation of the same pernicious liquor from molasses. Intemperance prevailed in a degree which seemed to threaten ruin to the state; and good men almost despaired

of finding any means of resisting the overwhelming evil. Temperance societies were happily devised, and their influence has gone far to effect the desired change. The Rev. Mr. Hewitt, of Connecticut, gave the first impulse to that great reformation, which has since extended throughout the United States and into several countries of Europe.

The present Constitution of Connecticut was adopted in 1818, instead of the charter of King Charles. One of the principal grounds on which the latter was objected to, was the distinction it made between Congregationalists and other Christian denominations.

The history of Connecticut under the charter presents a remarkable example of political uniformity and stability in government, a parallel to which it would be difficult to find in other elective governments. All the legislative officers except the representatives were chosen every year by the whole body of freemen, as were the governor, deputy-governor, secretary, and treasurer. The representatives were chosen twice a year by the towns. Many of these various officers, as we have seen, held their places till death or advanced age. General Wyllys was elected secretary 63 years in succession, including the agitating years of the Stamp Act and the Revolution. All judicial officers were appointed annually by the General Assembly, and the members of Congress by a general ticket. Yet, within a period of more than 20 years preceding the adoption of the present Constitution, the number of men who lost their places in the Assembly and Council, in consequence of a loss of popularity, did not exceed two, although it

was a period marked by peculiar excitement and violent party spirit, embracing the wars of Europe and the last American war.

At the time of the adoption of the State Constitution, a political change took place, and other men and measures were supported by the people. Some of the various conflicting views which have since divided the opinions of our countrymen, have since prevailed by turns in Connecticut. The progress of the state in almost every species of improvement, however, has been very great. The means of travelling and transportation have been much extended, and the people have applied themselves to numerous branches of manufacture, agriculture, science, literature, domestic and foreign trade and enterprise. Multitudes have emigrated to distant parts of the Union, and are now propagating the principles of their ancestors in our new states and territories, and disseminating the institutions of their native region, while reclaiming the wilderness or building new villages and towns. The great increase of the population is therefore not to be sought for in the census tables, which show only the numbers of that portion of the inhabitants which remain at home.

Much money has been expended by the Legislature to deepen the channel of Connecticut River in several places where the shallows impede the navigation at low water, principally by forming piers of stones and driving piles. In some parts the banks have been much worn away by the encroachments of the current, when not protected by the roots of trees. That river has been daily navigated by steamboats for several years, which

run between Hartford and New-York, touching at numerous landing-places on both its banks; while smaller steamboats extend the line into Vermont. Steam navigation has been annually increasing ever since the United States Courts declared it to be a part of the coasting trade; and Long Island Sound is one of its principal channels. Steamboats in great numbers now proceed from New-York to many of the towns on the southern line of Connecticut, touching at numerous intermediate points; while those of great size and superior swiftness daily take numerous passengers and large quantities of freight to the railroads leading northward from New-Haven, Norwich, and Stonington.

During the war, the scarcity of foreign goods had induced many persons to engage in various kinds of manufacture, with which they had before been almost unacquainted. When peace was published in 1814, it was welcomed with the highest pleasure, and business was resumed with activity. The prices of almost all articles, however, suddenly sunk very low, so that great losses were suffered by those merchants who had merchandise on hand, as well as many of the manufacturers. Manufactures have since revived, and new branches have been introduced, having been encouraged by the laws regulating the tariff, so that almost every stream is compelled to divert its water-power to some useful purpose.

In 1832 the value of manufactures in copper, brass, tin, and Britannia ware was \$430,050. But-tons are made in great quantities in Meriden and Waterbury. The carriages made in New-Haven in 1832 were valued at \$221,000, and in 1834 at

**\$275,000.** At Thompsonville, in Enfield, is an extensive carpet manufactory; at Norwich, Middletown, and many other places, are large and small manufactories of different kinds, built on the banks of streams; and all these, which are far too numerous and various to be particularized here, yield a considerable proportion of the whole amount of manufactures of the United States, which were estimated by Mr. Pitkin, in 1835, at between 325 and 350 millions of dollars.

At the close of 1830 there were 12,250 vessels owned in the United States, of which 934 were ships, and 343 belonged to steam navigation. Connecticut had 377 vessels, of 1496 tons, navigated by 1496 men. In 1832, to the port of New-London alone belonged 24,225 tons.

*Imports of Connecticut.*

Years.	Amount.	Principal Exports.
1821 . . .	\$312,090 . . .	\$376,187
1822 . . .	507,094 . . .	485,312
1823 . . .	456,643 . . .	482,061
1824 . . .	581,510 . . .	575,852
1825 . . .	704,478 . . .	689,270
1826 . . .	136,194 . . .	708,893
1827 . . .	630,004 . . .	590,275
1828 . . .	485,174 . . .	521,545
1829 . . .	309,538 . . .	457,970
1830 . . .	269,583 . . .	389,511
1831 . . .	405,066 . . .	482,883
1832 . . .	437,715 . . .	430,456
1833 . . .	352,014 . . .	427,603
1834 . . .	385,720 . . .	422,416
1835 . . .	430,502 . . .	519,270
1836 . . .	468,163 . . .	438,199
1837 . . .	318,849 . . .	532,590
1838 . . .	343,331 . . .	543,610

The whale fishery is now extensively pursued from New-London, and sealing from Stonington.

The Pilgrims in the *Mayflower* saw many whales near Cape Cod in 1620; the people of Nantucket began to take them in boats in 1690; about 1750 they were pursued to the West Indies and Brazil; and now they are taken in the Northern and Pacific Oceans. In 1834 New-London had 41 whaling vessels, with 11,251 tons and 1087 men.

Silk has been produced in Connecticut about 80 years, though in small quantities. Mulberry-trees were introduced into Mansfield in 1760, and there most of the silk has been made. In 1783 the Assembly offered for ten years a bounty of ten shillings for every hundred white mulberry-trees planted, and three shillings for every ounce of silk manufactured. In 1785 the American Silk Company was formed in New-Haven, which promoted the planting of trees. In Mansfield, in 1793, 362 pounds of raw silk were made. In 1832 a bounty of one dollar was offered for every hundred trees three years old, and fifty cents a pound for reeled silk. In 1834 the bounty was extended to the Chinese mulberry-tree, and a company was incorporated, with a capital of \$15,000. The speculations of 1838 and 1839 caused much loss in Connecticut, as well as in some other states.

In 1832, the paper made in Connecticut was valued at \$546,000. The manufacture of books is carried on to a great extent, so that more business in that department has been done in Hartford in a year than in any other place in the Union, excepting only Philadelphia, New-York, and Boston.

In 1796, the importation of foreign books in Connecticut was commenced by Mr. Nathan Beers, a bookseller in New-Haven. The business was af-

terward carried on for many years by Messrs. Beers and Howe, for the supply of Yale College, as well as of many private libraries in this state and elsewhere. Messrs. Cooke afterward began bookselling in New-Haven; and, removing to Hartford in 1796, began to import and republish English books of standard value. They supplied Dartmouth College, and carried on, for many years, an extensive business in adjacent and distant parts of the country. These establishments had an important and most favourable influence on the literature of Connecticut, and a considerable part of the Union. It is believed that the two houses possessed together a larger assortment of standard books than any single house in the country. There were no other importing booksellers in New-England for several years after they commenced, except in Boston; nor elsewhere except in two or three of the principal cities south of it.

The following, among other books, were early published by Messrs. Cooke: the *Wealth of Nations*, three editions, Johnson and Elliot's Dictionary, Strong's Sermons, the Connecticut Evangelical Magazine. The same house, at later periods, under different members, established the first book-stores in several of the principal western towns.

*Mail Routes, &c.*—In 1838 there were in Connecticut 2134 mail routes, extending in all 745,160 miles, of which the mails were carried by horses and sulkeys 104,624 miles; 611,416 in stage-coaches; and 29,120 by steamboats and railroads. The postage paid on letters amounted, in the year ending June 30, 1838, to \$90,977 35 cents; and on newspapers, magazines, &c., to \$14,063 53



cents; while the postmasters received \$29,760 90 cents.

In 1833 there were 21 banks in Connecticut, with capitals amounting to \$5,708,015. The notes issued amounted to \$2,557,227; specie and specie funds, \$400,000; deposits, \$900,228; discount of notes, \$7,432,055. The number of banks in the United States was at that time 562, and their aggregate capital 35 millions, besides the Bank of the United States.

The militia of Connecticut in 1839 amounted to 29,950: viz., infantry, 25,547; cavalry, 986; artillery, 2125; and riflemen, 1294.

*The United States' Courts.*—The United States' Circuit Courts sit at New-Haven on the last Wednesday of April, and at Hartford on the 17th of September. The District Court at New-Haven on the fourth Tuesday in February and August, and at Hartford on the fourth Wednesday in May and November.

There were 31 newspapers and periodical magazines printed in Connecticut in 1839.

The old copper-mine at Simsbury had been used for many years as the state prison, which was called Newgate. In the course of the nine and a half years preceding 1827, it had cost the state, above all the earnings of the convicts, \$80,500. That year the new prison at Wethersfield was opened, having been constructed on the improved plan first introduced in the prison at Auburn, New-York, with 136 solitary cells, and excellent arrangements for health and cleanliness, and a judicious system of moral and religious improvement. The total cost of the ground and buildings was

**\$45,602 18 cts.** In 1839 it contained 183 prisoners, and had had 59 committed that year. The earnings in 1837 had already repaid to the state the above amount of cost and the expenses, and left a balance of **\$10,746 47 cts.**

The paupers are generally supported by the towns, under the charge of the men who offer the lowest terms. No returns are made to the Legislature, and the system probably admits of improvements. A few paupers are supported by the state.

The governor of Connecticut has **\$1100** a year; the lieutenant-governor and president of the Senate, **\$300**; treasurer, **\$1000**; secretary, **\$84** and fees; comptroller, **\$1000**; commissioner of the school fund, **\$1250**; chief-justice, **\$1100**; associate judges, **\$1050**; and reporter, **\$350**.

Yale College or University, a Congregational institution of learning, founded in the year 1700, had, in 1840, 31 instructors, 403 students, 10,500 volumes in its library, and 15,000 in society libraries. The ministers educated there previously to 1839 had been 1237. The annual expenses for each student are, rent, &c., **\$21**; instruction, **\$33**; wood, &c., **\$20**; board for 40 weeks, **\$85**. President, Jeremiah Day. Commencement on the third Wednesday in August. The departments of theology, medicine, and law have been founded within a few years.

Washington College, an Episcopal institution, founded in 1824; had 54 students, 10 instructors, 2000 volumes, in society libraries 2500, alumni 115, ministers educated 42, and expenses—for rent, **\$19 50 cts.**; instruction, **\$33**; board for 39 weeks, **\$85**. President, Silas Totten. Commencement is held on first Thursday in August.

The Wesleyan University, a Methodist institution, founded in 1831 at Middletown; had 152 students, and 3000 volumes in the library. The expenses, for rent, \$11 25 cts.; instruction, \$36; board for 40 weeks, \$70. Stephen Olin, President. Commencement on the first Wednesday in August.

The Theological Institute of Connecticut, commenced in 1834 at East Windsor, has three professors, 23 students, and 3500 volumes in its library.

The first considerable law school in the United States was opened in Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1798, and continued till 1827, by Judge Reeve, and had, in all, 730 students.

The Common School Fund yields an annual income of about \$113,000; and improvements in the schools have been commenced, under the direction of a Board of Education. The state has no debt, and expends only \$80,000 annually, except the school money.

#### GOVERNORS OF THE COLONY AND STATE OF CONNECTICUT.

##### *Governors of the Colony.*

1st. John Haynes, first elected in 1640, and afterward every other year till 1658.

2d. Edward Hopkins, first elected in 1640, and afterward every year, alternately with Governor Haynes, till 1654.

3d. George Wyllys, from 1643.

4th. Thomas Welles, 1655 and 1658.

5th. John Webster, 1656.

6th. John Winthrop, 1657, 1659, and till 1675.

7th. William Leet, from 1676 to 1682.

8th. Robert Treat, from 1683 to 1687, and from 1689 to 1697.

9th. (The usurped government, under Sir Edmund Andross, from October 31st, 1687, to May 9th, 1689.)

10th. Fitz John Winthrop, from 1698 to 1707.

11th. Gurdon Saltonstall, from 1708 to 1724.

12th. Joseph Talcott, from 1725 to 1741.

13th. Jonathan Law, from 1742 to 1750.

14th. Roger Wolcott, from 1751 to 1753.

15th. Thomas Fitch, from 1754 to 1765.

16th. William Pitkin, from 1766 to 1769.

*Governors of the State.*

17th. Jonathan Trumbull, from 1770 to 1783.

18th. Matthew Griswold, from 1784 to 1785.

19th. Samuel Huntington, from 1786 to 1795.

20th. Oliver Wolcott, from 1796 to 1797.

21st. Jonathan Trumbull, from 1798 to 1809.

22d. John Treadwell, 1810.

23d. Roger Griswold, from 1811 to 1812.

24th. John Cotton Smith, from 1813 to 1816.

25th. Oliver Wolcott, from 1817 to 1826.

26th. Gideon Tomlinson, from 1827 to 1830.

27th. John S. Peters, from 1831 to 1832.

28th. Henry W. Edwards, 1833.

29th. Samuel A. Foot, in 1834.

30th. Henry W. Edwards, from 1835 to 1836.

31st. William W. Ellsworth, from 1836 till the present time.

THE END.













